

MINNESOTA

DRAWER 12A

OTHER STATES

71 2009, 085 0501

Other States

Minnesota

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

LINCOLN WAS FACTOR IN STATE'S HISTORY

President Intervenes After Indian Outbreak; Condemned 40

to Death.

St. Paul Press 2-12-26
"Although Abraham Lincoln never visited Minnesota, he did play a direct part in its history on one important occasion," writes Solon J. Buck, state librarian, in the December number of "Minnesota History," issued by the Minnesota Historical society.

The important occasion was the Sioux outbreak, when 20 white persons were killed and 57 captured, of whom 47 later escaped. For this about 300 Indians were condemned to death and there were veiled threats that, if they were not hung, the people of the state would take the law in their own hands and lynch them.

Lincoln Considers Cases.

"When it became known that Lincoln was considering the cases he was subjected to a bombardment of petitions and resolutions," Mr. Buck writes. "Almost the only voice in Minnesota opposed to wholesale execution was that of Bishop Henry Whipple. He had seen enough of the mistreatment of the Indians by government officials to feel that the outbreak was largely the fault of the white men. In the fall of 1862 he was in Washington and with his relative, General Halleck, he called on Lincoln. The president said of the interview not long after, 'He came here the other day and talked with me about the rascality of this Indian business until I felt it down to my boots.'"

Mr. Buck's article goes on:

"Lincoln had the evidence of the Indian trials examined with considerable care. The commission had sen-

tenced to death all the Indians who had killed white men or who had showed their intent to kill by participating in battles against the whites. The president felt that those who had merely fought in battles were prisoners of war and should not be executed. Of the 300 condemned, there were 40 who were proved to have killed defenseless and unarmed settlers. These 40 Lincoln considered guilty of murder and deserving of the death sentence. On the recommendation of the military commission the sentence of one of them was commuted to ten years' imprisonment."

President Signs Execution Order.

The order for the execution, written by Lincoln himself, may be seen at the State historical library. The order is addressed to Brigadier-General H. H. Sibley.

The remainder of Mr. Buck's article deals with the political contest in Minnesota at the time that Lincoln first ran for president.

"The Lincoln-Douglas debates in the Illinois campaign of 1858 attracted considerable attention here," it recalls. "The Democratic papers of course favored Douglas and spoke slightly of 'Mr. Abe Lincoln'."

The St. Paul Daily Times on the other hand, a Republican newspaper, declared, "It is quite evident to our own mind, that the masses are with Lincoln and that Douglas will be sent to the shades of private life."

... On May 19, 1860, before the reports of the convention had reached St. Paul, the Daily Minnesotan and Times expressed the opinion that Lincoln's chance for the nomination for president was very slim but that he stood a good chance of getting the nomination for the vice presidency.

... Whatever may have been the disappointment of Minnesota Republicans at Lincoln's nomination, they swallowed it bravely and made an active campaign for him. One of its chief features was an address delivered from the steps of the State Capitol by William H. Seward, who had come into the state to urge his Minnesota friends to support Lincoln."

Minnesota * * * History * * *

VOLUME 24

DECEMBER, 1943

NUMBER 4

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SAINT PAUL

MINNESOTA HISTORY

LEWIS BEESON, *Editor*

BERTHA L. HEILBRON, *Assistant Editor*

Contents

FROM KENORA TO FORT FRANCES WITH EDWARD C. GALE	
Up the Rainy Lake River, by Edward Chenery Gale	275
FARM MACHINERY OF THE 1860's IN MINNESOTA	Merrill E. Jarchow 287
MINNESOTA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOUTHERN CASE FOR SECESSION	
F. Paul Prucha	307
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ROSEAU VALLEY	Earl V. Chapin 318
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS	
Through Minnesota to the Canadian West in 1869, edited by Marion H. Herriot	328
REVIEWS OF BOOKS	
Mood, <i>Frederick Jackson Turner as a Historical Thinker</i> , by Edward P. Alexander	336
Joseph Schafer, <i>Student of Agriculture</i> , by Lewis Beeson	337
Post, <i>Popular Freethought in America</i> , by Alice Felt Tyler	338
Rich, ed., <i>Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company</i> , by Grace Lee Nute	340
Delafield, <i>The Unfortified Boundary</i> , by Mary Wheelhouse Berthel	341
Robertson and Riker, eds., <i>The John Tipton Papers</i> , by Clarence E. Carter	343
James, <i>The First Scientific Exploration of Russian America</i> , by G. L. N.	344
Holbrook, <i>Burning an Empire</i> , by Chester S. Wilson	345
Smith, <i>The Making of a Surgeon</i> , by James Eckman	347
Rønning, <i>The Saga of Old Muskego</i> , by Carlton C. Qualey	348
MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES	349
Contributors	352
Accessions	353
NEWS AND COMMENT	360
General Minnesota Items	370
War History Activities	375
Local Historical Societies	377
Local History Items	381

MINNESOTA HISTORY is published quarterly in March, June, September, and December by the Minnesota Historical Society, Central Avenue and Cedar Street, St. Paul 1, and is distributed free to members. Correspondence concerning contributions and books for review may be sent to the editor. The society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors to the magazine.

Entered as second-class matter on March 29, 1915, at the post office at St. Paul, Minnesota, under the act of August 24, 1912.

Minnesota's Attitude toward the Southern Case for Secession

F. Paul Prucha

THE SECESSION of the Southern states and the outbreak of the Civil War were based upon definite grievances which the South and its leaders felt they had suffered in the Union. Editorial writers in Southern newspapers in the months prior to the outbreak of actual hostilities stated these grievances—this case of the South—and discussed with fervor the evils with which they considered themselves beset.¹ The one general argument advanced by the South was the claim that it no longer was guaranteed the rights given to the states when they entered the Union under the Constitution. The South did not wish to withdraw its allegiance to the Constitution; it asserted strong support for the Constitution as it was drawn up in 1787, but maintained that it had been perverted from the original intent of the founders and was no longer the same.

Its rights, the South claimed, were violated in the matter of the common territories because, contrary to the principles of equality laid down in the Constitution, the slave states were not accorded an equal right with the free states in such territories and because slaveholders were discriminated against. The South saw a violation of its constitutional rights, too, in the repossession of fugitive slaves. Although the Constitution provided for the return of fugitive slaves to their original owners, and a Fugitive Slave Law had been passed by Congress, the South insisted that the law was not enforced and it demanded a guarantee of its constitutional right to regain its lost property. The so-called "personal liberty laws" passed by some Northern states served to hamper the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. The Southern states vigorously objected to them as flagrant violations of their guarantees.

¹For selected Southern editorials see Dwight L. Dumond, ed., *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1931).

The South feared violation of constitutional rights by an outright attack on slavery, an institution which many Southerners had come to look upon as an absolute good. They required a guarantee of their property in slaves, for they feared that Northern hostility toward slavery might cause its eventual destruction. Finally, in an economic sense the South asserted that it no longer possessed equality in the Union. The North, it maintained, had built up its economy by means of taxes and duties at the expense of the South.

The basic case of the South for secession rested upon the loss of constitutional equality and privilege. The formation of the Republican party and its victory in 1860, however, caused the South to have serious fears for its interests and aggravated its misgivings. The election of Lincoln was looked upon by many in the South as the beginning of a destructive attack upon its interests, since the government was in the hands of a sectional majority.

How did the Minnesota press meet these Southern arguments? To what extent did Minnesota editors agree with the case of the South?

Minnesota in 1860 was still a frontier state, although a rapidly growing one. Its population totaled 172,022, an increase of 3,127 per cent within a decade.² It could point to only one city with a population of over ten thousand — St. Paul — though four others had passed the twenty-five hundred mark. The settlements were grouped along the rivers, the Mississippi and the Minnesota; a third of the people were of foreign birth.

Despite the fact that Minnesota had attained statehood only two years earlier, by 1860 political parties had become well defined there. At first the state was controlled by the Democrats, but in the election of 1859 the Republicans won an "overwhelming victory," attributed by one historian largely to the eloquence of Ignatius Donnelly, the lieutenant governor under Alexander Ramsey. Another writer concludes that "During the years 1859 and 1860 Republicanism gained the ascendancy in Minnesota, and the state assumed a national point

² *Minnesota: Its Progress and Capabilities*, 99 (Commissioner of Statistics, *Second Annual Report*, 1860-61 — St. Paul, 1862).

of view in political matters. . . . Action of the parties abroad on the issues of homestead, slavery, and nativism differentiated the various party groups in the state." The Democrats were strong supporters of Douglas, although a small group under the leadership of Senator Henry M. Rice stood firm for the administration and Breckenridge. In the Minnesota election of 1860 Lincoln received 22,069 votes to the 11,920 for Douglas, 748 for Breckenridge, and about 50 for Bell. The new legislature showed a like predominance of Republicans.³

Newspapers developed early in Minnesota. During the territorial period, from 1849 to 1858, about ninety were established.⁴ The *Minnesota Pioneer* of St. Paul, which became the *Pioneer and Democrat* during the Civil War period, was the earliest and the leading paper. Soon after it was founded in 1849, it began to give support to the Democratic party. The rural communities, however, could not boast of daily papers; they had to depend on weeklies, which appeared in large numbers. When the Civil War began, 125 weekly newspapers had been founded in Minnesota. They existed in a pioneer culture which had few means of gathering news, even though the telegraph came into St. Paul in the summer of 1860. Aside from civic news, editorial comment occupied more space than any other category of news, an estimated one-fourth in 1860.⁵ Like the great eastern daily newspapers of the same period, the small Minnesota weekly was characterized by personal journalism, with the editor considering it his duty to direct the thinking of his readers, especially in political matters.

Since communications from the outside world were relatively infrequent, political and governmental news and comments thereon appear to have been of primary interest to the editor and probably also to his readers. Because this was so, local newspaper editorials are a significant source of political opinion concerning the national problems of the day. But of the scores of newspapers, daily and weekly,

³ William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 2:61 (St. Paul, 1924); Ruby G. Karstad, "Political Party Alignments in Minnesota, 1854-1860," 165, 255. The latter is an unpublished thesis prepared in 1934; the Minnesota Historical Society has a copy.

⁴ Herman Roc, "The Frontier Press of Minnesota," *ante*, 14:397.

⁵ Irene B. Taeuber, "Weekly Newspapers in Pioneer Minnesota," *ante*, 14:411.

published in Minnesota during the Civil War, only a few seem to have been directed by men who took definite editorial stands on the grievances presented by the Southern editors. The opinions of some of the Minnesota journalists, selected from available files of the state's Civil War newspapers, are quoted in the pages that follow.⁶

Minnesota opinion about the pre-Civil War grievances of the South, as reflected in the press, was divided. Many Minnesota editors condemned slavery as a wrong, but few suggested that slavery should be abolished in the states where it existed. Republicans and Democrats alike were innocent of any designs upon this institution in the slave states, for they realized and admitted that it was protected by the Constitution. Northern abolitionists were condemned as heartily by Minnesota editors as those in the South. Judging from the lack of comment on the tariff in available Minnesota editorials, this issue did not become an important point in the state's discussion of the Southern secession movement. If a reference in the *Hastings Democrat* is typical, Minnesota sympathized with the South on this question, for it affected the state in much the same manner as it did the section. "The new Tariff bill passed at the last session of Congress," commented the editor of this journal in the issue of March 30, 1861, "is a monster of iniquity and injustice to the people of our whole country, but more especially to the West."

Although slave ownership and the tariff did not arouse much discussion in Minnesota, a marked disparity of opinion developed over the two remaining grievances of the slave states—slavery restriction in the territories and the nonenforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. The Southern case was treated with sympathetic understanding in the state's Democratic newspapers, and even the Republican journals were willing on certain points to admit that the South deserved some concessions and that its complaints were not without justification. Some Democratic editorials echoed the states' rights doctrine of Jefferson, Taylor, Douglas, and the Cincinnati platform. The *Hastings Democrat*, for example, maintained that

⁶The many newspapers consulted in the preparation of this article, as well as those cited, are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

"The rights of the States themselves, although being recognized as sovereign under the Constitution, are no longer to be respected. The whole fabric upon which rests the cherished work of the hands of our forefathers, is by the dominance of Republicanism, to be overthrown. Nay, the very Constitution itself is to be swept away by the sacrilegious hands of this *black* party."⁷

The question of equal rights in the territories—the most widely discussed of the points in the Southern case both in the North and in the South—found in Minnesota understanding of the arguments of the South and agreement that its cry of mistreatment was justified. "We believe," wrote the Hastings editor, "that, as the territories are the common property of the whole people of both sections of the Union, the people of the South have a perfect right to take their slaves into any of the territories to be held at their owners risk." He considered that as a result of the Republican victory, the "joint occupancy of the Territories, the common property of all sections of the Union, was denied by withdrawing the protection under the Constitution. . . . The South becoming justly alarmed for their constitutional rights and the safety of their property, resolved to seek in a new confederacy what was openly denied them in the old."⁸

A sympathetic feeling was revealed in the discussion of the compromise measures presented to Congress during the interim between secession and actual war. Support of these proposals, most of which were concerned chiefly with the territorial controversy and the attempt to satisfy Southern demands for a place in the territories, shows a willingness on the part of certain Minnesota editors to concede to the South some of its requests. The *Pioneer and Democrat*, for instance, favored the adoption of the "plan of adjustment embraced in the Crittenden resolution, or that submitted by Hon. H. M. Rice; a modification of either, or combination of the principles of both, such as will secure equal justice to every section of our prosperous Union, reconcile conflicting passions and forever put to rest sectional strife hitherto so fruitful in discord and anarchy." The

⁷ *Hastings Democrat*, October 27, 1860.

⁸ *Hastings Democrat*, May 5, 1860, March 30, 1861.

first proposed a constitutional amendment re-establishing the Missouri Compromise line, with slavery protected south and prohibited north of it. Rice's plan called for the creation of two states out of the territories in order to end the territorial dispute. The Republican *St. Paul Daily Press*, on the other hand, offered a general statement of conciliation and supported a compromise like that suggested by Rice to settle the territorial question, but it was very much against the "slave code" of John J. Crittenden for the Southern territories.⁹

On the question of fugitive slaves, too, the Minnesota papers recognized Southern feeling. The *Pioneer and Democrat* stated that the Fugitive Slave Law was "in strict accordance with the Constitution, and had been so decided, over and over again, by the highest tribunals in the land." The personal liberty laws, so much opposed by the South, received like treatment in this Northern paper, which considered them unconstitutional. "The so-called personal liberty laws are intended for one purpose," wrote the editor, "and that is to nullify the provision of the Constitution requiring the surrender of fugitive slaves." The *Hastings Democrat* also supported the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, basing its attitude upon the Constitution and the passage of the law by a majority of the people. And the Republican *St. Paul Press* took its stand thus: "We believe with Mr. Lincoln, that however repulsive to our feelings may be the execution of the terms of the compact between the Free and Slave States under the Constitution, still, by virtue of that instrument, the Slave States are 'entitled to a fugitive slave law,' which should, however, be relieved of the odious features of the present law 'without lessening its efficiency.'" ¹⁰

Most comments on these two grievances of the South, however, were not in agreement with the Southern attitude. The Republican papers generally opposed the South, and the Democratic papers, too, found objections to some of the complaints made by the South. Concerning the contentions of Southern editors that their constitutional

⁹ *Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), January 29, 1861; *St. Paul Daily Press*, January 23, 30, 1861.

¹⁰ *Pioneer and Democrat*, December 17, 1860; *Hastings Democrat*, August 11, 1860; *St. Paul Press*, January 5, 1861.

rights were being violated, Minnesota editors by and large either declared that the Constitution was on the side of Northern action or ridiculed the South's cry of injustice.

In spite of the Southern claim that slaves were property and should be protected like any other property under the Constitution, Minnesota editorials frequently attacked slavery as a wrong. It was, however, the extension of slavery into the territories that was attacked most strongly by the North. The *Wright County Republican* of Monticello, for example, stated this feeling unequivocally: "SLAVERY EXTENSION is what we war against and ever shall. Slavery can extend no farther—not the smallest part of an inch!" The majority of Minnesota newspapers did not agree with the Southern view that slavery was property, that as such it was protected, and that it had as much right in the territories as any other kind of property. In the first place, as the *New Era* of Sauk Rapids pointed out, "the Constitution does *not* recognize the right of property in the slave—as other property. . . . No other property votes!—the Constitution does not under the penalty of death prohibit the importation of other property. If other property escapes into another State, the Constitution does not authorize the calling out of the power of the United States to return such property to its owner.—Now is this not distinction enough? And this distinction is made by the Constitution."¹¹

The Minnesota Republicans argued that slavery was a creature of local law and could exist only where guaranteed by a state constitution; hence Southerners could not take their local law with them into the territories. The exclusion of slavery by definite legislation was not violating the constitutional equality of the South, but was in accordance with the constitution. As one editor wrote, a "majority of the joint owners of the common territory of the Union are of right and in strict accordance with the established principles and usages of the General Government from its foundation to the passage of the Kansas Nebraska swindle of 1854, vested with the full power to determine what institutions shall be established and protected

¹¹ *New Era* (Sauk Rapids), June 28, 1860; *Wright County Republican*, January 5, 1861.

therein so long as such territory shall remain a territorial dependence upon the General Government and until it is admitted into the Union as a sovereign State."¹²

Although the people of Minnesota did not wish to destroy slavery in the states, many of them agreed with the *Daily Minnesotian*, which published the following appeal to the South: "For the sake of Humanity, and for the sake of our Country, which *we* love, we feel it our duty to oppose you by all constitutional means, when you seek to extend it [*slavery*] over territory *now free*." The same paper, in a later issue, sets forth its stand. "Our position," runs the editorial, "is, that Slavery shall not have an inch of Territory more than the Constitution *now* gives it, which is just nothing at all. We are opposed to a wanton violation of the *spirit* of that instrument, by now incorporating a clause that recognizes and justifies *property in man*." ¹³

Again the attitude toward the territorial compromises gives insight into Minnesota's opinion. The editors who opposed these conciliatory measures also declared that the South had no grievances of which to complain and that its rights were safely secured by the Constitution. "No more concession to slaveholders," was the cry of the *Faribault Central Republican*, which had no kind words for compromise proposals. The *St. Paul Press* attacked especially the Crittenden plan because it would establish slavery in the Southern territories. On one occasion the editor called attention to the fact that "Now, Mr. Crittenden asks that slavery shall be recognized and protected south of that line [*defined in the Missouri Compromise*] by a special slave code incorporated in the Constitution. To ask the North to agree to that . . . is as purely revolutionary, as indefensible, as absurd, and only less bold and honest in its treason, than the *pronunciamento* of South Carolina." ¹⁴

The other grievance of the South, the failure of enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, met with little sympathy in Republican

¹² *Faribault Central Republican*, December 26, 1860.

¹³ *Daily Minnesotian*, December 15, 29, 1860.

¹⁴ *Faribault Central Republican*, December 12, 1860; *St. Paul Press*, January 23, 1861.

circles. "We believe the law unconstitutional, and its passage by Congress an act of usurpation for which there is no warrant in the Constitution," declared the editor of the *Faribault Central Republican* on December 26, 1860. "It made bloodhounds and slave-hunters of every man in the common wealth at the bidding of a federal officeholder," he continued, "and denied to the man whose liberty was to be taken from him more than half the rights and privileges accorded the horse thief, burglar or any other criminal." The personal liberty acts were looked upon as a necessity by the *Minnesotian*. It asserted that the Southerners "*pretend* to have great cause for provocation in the enactment by some of the States of the 'Personal Liberty Bills,' and yet not one, poor, panting negro has ever escaped from their clutches in consequence of any of them. They know as well as we do, that these legislative provisions were passed by the several States for the protection of their own free citizens, or inhabitants—to prevent FREE-MEN and WOMEN from being stolen, kidnapped, and sold into Slavery. Under the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law any free negro in any of the Northern States could be captured 'with or without process,' taken before some U. S. Commissioner, and upon proof manufactured at the South, with no opportunity or means to show its falsity, be summarily condemned to a life of servitude. It was to avoid flagrant outrages upon personal liberty such as these, that gave rise to the passage of the so-called 'Personal Liberty Bills;' and, before any of the States of the North repeal them they will ask and must *obtain* a '*guarantee*' from you of the South that no more of our freemen shall be kidnapped, and sold into an infernal bondage."¹⁵

To the South the election of Lincoln was a signal for disunion because it felt that under a Republican regime all the forces of government would be turned against its interests. Many in Minnesota did not share this opinion. "We have carefully read the Chicago platform," said the *New Era*, "we find in it no insult to the South—we find it advocated the faithful maintenance of States Rights—we find it promises security to the domestic institutions of each separate sovereignty of the Confederacy." The *Minnesotian* adds, "We know

¹⁵ *Minnesotian*, December 15, 1860.

the principles of the Republican Party are right, and that its platform is in accordance not only with the letter of the Constitution, but with the spirit that pervades it, and of the times in which it was framed and adopted."¹⁶

Even the *Hastings Democrat* declared that "The idea that a union of the North and the South is incompatible with the presence or existence of a Republican President, is all fallacy." The paper continued with an explanation that "The great mass of the Northern mind is opposed to any violation of the rights of the South. The political conflicts of the past have fully demonstrated this fact to be a truism, for the truest friends and warmest advocates of her constitutional rights have invariably been Northern men. Her whole excitement, then, over the probabilities of Lincoln's election is all a 'bug bear,' a wild phantasy of the imagination—but in reality without existence."¹⁷

The Minnesota papers met the charge of sectionalism under the Republicans in another way—by pointing out the constitutionality of Lincoln's election and the right of the majority to rule. "The people of this country have chosen a President in a constitutional way," reasoned one editor. "It was Democratic to do so. It is just what the South has been doing every four years for more than three quarters of a century. No body has been wronged by it. The rights of no citizen of this country have been outraged in the slightest degree."¹⁸

Some editors voiced a suspicion which apparently existed in the minds of many Minnesotans—that the grievance stated and the demands made by the South were nothing but an attempt to find an excuse for secession. The editor of the *Pioneer and Democrat* wrote: "Their demands are briefly, a slave code for the Territories, and a recognition of slaves as property by the free States. We cannot believe that such demands are made in good faith. They seem to have been devised purposely to receive a rejection which might be alleged as a reason for a contemplated revolution." The *Waseca Home Views* of Wilton supported the idea that a large portion of the secessionists

¹⁶ *New Era*, June 7, 1860; *Minnesotian*, December 15, 1860.

¹⁷ *Hastings Democrat*, November 3, 1860.

¹⁸ *Weekly Journal* (Lake City), January 17, 1861.

were just using their arguments for secession, which they had wanted anyway. "This question of secession is a preconcerted plan, and has been mooted for years," suggested the editor. "South Carolina has been looking toward disunion since 1832 and has only waited for a more favorable opportunity."¹⁹

The editorials quoted are typical of the attitude of the Minnesota press toward the Southern case for secession. Although they made little attack upon slavery in the states or upon the Southern complaint against the tariff, Minnesota editors did remark frequently about the repossession of fugitive slaves, and, most of all, about slavery extension into the territories. On these points, too, some of Minnesota's spokesmen were willing to go far in fulfilling Southern demands, but most of the expressed opinions took a stand against the case of the South.

¹⁹ *Pioneer and Democrat*, January 10, 1861; *Waseca Home Views* (Wilton), January 2, 1861.

The Early History of the Roseau Valley

Earl V. Chapin

THE ROSEAU RIVER VALLEY has played an interesting part in the history of Minnesota. The river has its source in the Beltrami Island highlands in the southwestern part of Lake of the Woods County. It flows abruptly downward from the sandy lands into the valley of the Roseau River, actually an ancient bay of glacial Lake Agassiz whose gently sloping terrain today cradles the prosperous heart of agricultural Roseau County. The river flows in a northwesterly direction, roughly bisecting the county to its northernmost tier of townships, then turns sharply westward, flowing sluggishly between low banks to the point where it crosses the Kittson County line near the international boundary. The valley harbored white men at a date far earlier than most regions of the state, and its beautiful forests and plentiful game were a legend in the Red River Valley long before settlers began to make their way into the new land in numbers in 1888.

Apparently the first white men to enter the Roseau Valley were Frenchmen associated with the French-Canadian trader and explorer Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Vérendrye, who established Fort St. Charles on Magnusson's Island in Lake of the Woods in 1732.¹ It seems likely that his son, Jean Baptiste, entered the Roseau Valley in 1734. Early in the spring of that year a large band of Cree and Monsoni warriors, full of the spirit of reprisal and valor doubtless whetted by the possession of French arms, began preparations to invade the country of their hereditary enemy, the prairie Sioux. The leaders importuned Jean Baptiste to accompany them as their commander in order that he might bear witness to their valor in battle.

¹L. A. Prud'homme, "Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Verendrye," in Historical Society of St. Boniface, *Bulletins*, vol. 5, pt. 2, p. 37 (1916); Theodore C. Blegen, "Fort St. Charles and the Northwest Angle," *ante*, 18:231-248. Judge Prud'homme was a member of the party that rediscovered the site of Fort St. Charles in 1908.

THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Saint Paul

Officers

LESTER B. SHIPPEE, *President*
JULIUS E. HAYCRAFT, *Vice-president*
KENNETH G. BRILL, *Vice-president*
LEWIS BEESON, *Acting Secretary*
JULIAN B. BAIRD, *Treasurer*

Executive Council

Ex Officio

EDWARD J. THYE, <i>Governor</i>	STAFFORD KING, <i>State Auditor</i>
ARCHIE H. MILLER, <i>Lt. Governor</i>	JULIUS A. SCHMAHL, <i>State Treasurer</i>
MIKE HOLM, <i>Secretary of State</i>	J. A. A. BURNQUIST, <i>Attorney-general</i>

Elected

DR. JOHN M. ARMSTRONG	WILLIAM W. CUTLER	VICTOR E. LAWSON
JULIAN B. BAIRD	BERT FESLER	ALBERT J. LOBB
HENRY N. BENSON	GRACE FLANDRAU	EDGAR L. MATTSO
THEODORE C. BLEGEN	GUY STANTON FORD	ANDREW J. NEWGREN
KENNETH G. BRILL	LAURA FURNESS	IRA C. OEHLER
RALPH BUDD	JULIUS E. HAYCRAFT	L. A. ROSSMAN
REV. WILLIAM BUSCH	LOUIS W. HILL, JR.	LESTER B. SHIPPEE
HOMER P. CLARK	JEFFERSON JONES	CHARLES STEES
REV. JAMES CONNOLLY	AUGUST C. KREY	DR. H. B. ZIMMERMANN
	ARTHUR J. LARSEN	

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS

THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY will welcome gifts or bequests of money, especially for the publication of books and for the purchase of materials relating to the history of Minnesota and the Northwest.

Memorials of several types can be easily arranged. For example, a special *publication fund* can be set up, for the issuing of a book or a series of books relating to some phase of Minnesota's history. Such books would form appropriate and permanent memorials to individuals or groups of individuals who helped to make that history.

A small sum, such as a few hundred dollars, is sufficient to establish a *book fund* to carry on the life interest of an individual or a group. In like manner, funds can be set aside for the purchase of manuscripts, pictures, and other materials that could not otherwise be acquired by the Society.

Minnesotans are invited to include their Historical Society as a beneficiary when they are preparing their wills. The following clause is suggested:

I bequeath to the Minnesota Historical Society, incorporated under the laws of Minnesota, the sum ofdollars, to

be used for the { publication of books.
 { purchase of books.
 { other specified purposes.

The superintendent of the Society will be glad to discuss with any individual or group of individuals possible gifts or bequests, and to suggest purposes for which such bequests can be used.

31
6-1
10-3
24

Minnesota

THE HISTORICAL QUARTERLY OF THE NORTH STAR STATE

History

1849 · THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY · ST. PAUL · 1949

VOLUME 28 DECEMBER 1947 NUMBER 4



MINNESOTA HISTORY

VOLUME 28 • PUBLISHED IN DEC. 1947 • NUMBER 4

Governor Ramsey and Frontier Minnesota: Impressions from His Diary and Letters

Marion Ramsey Furness

THAT GOVERNOR ALEXANDER RAMSEY's daughter left a description of his arrival in Minnesota and of his experiences in the fifteen years following 1849 was learned only recently. Mrs. Furness was born in 1853, four years after her parents arrived in Minnesota. Through the years, she carefully preserved her father's diary and letters, and to them she turned for information about his early experiences in the territory and the state. The resulting narrative, consisting largely of quotations from these important documents, was prepared during the First World War and read before the New Century Club of St. Paul on January 9, 1918.

Since Mrs. Furness wrote for a listening rather than a reading audience, she sometimes combined diary entries or used other devices that might add to the smoothness of the exposition and increase the enjoyment of her hearers. Her narrative is here printed much as she wrote it. With the Minnesota Territorial Centennial fast approaching, it is particularly appropriate that the Minnesota Historical Society, which Governor Ramsey helped to found, should publish this fresh and authentic picture of his frontier experiences. Here, in the first territorial governor's own words, are described many of the events to be commemorated in 1949. The narrative was made available through the kindness of Governor Ramsey's granddaughters, Miss Anna E. Ramsey Furness and Miss Laura Furness of St. Paul. Ed.

Copyright, 1947, by the MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

and two of the porters of the Irving House, went to Merchants Bank in a stage coach, and took up the two heavy iron boxes, weighing each about 200 lbs. Took the Steamer at the foot of Duane Street." About noon on October 15, "reached Detroit, placing our money boxes in the Depot office, keeping watch over them all the time, and at 6 P.M. took the cars for Chicago." The travelers arrived in St. Paul by boat on October 23. According to the diary entry for the next day, "Sibley came in late last night and remained here and breakfasted with us. Finished with his assistance the count of the gold \$100,000, found it all correct. Looked over the packages of paper money \$100,000 and found them all correct." Just compare the ease with which that could be done today.

The decade of the 1850's was one of sharp contrasts, and naturally the diary reflects both phases—the prosperity and the riot of speculation that marked the boom of the first half; and the gloomy years of depression which succeeded the "crash," as it was called, of 1857. The files are full of letters from eastern men and women wanting to invest money in western lands or mortgages. The rates of interest demanded and paid are fairly staggering. Everyone wants twenty-five per cent and apparently gets it, though occasionally some modest or altruistic soul professes a willingness, if the security should be very good, to accept twenty per cent. At all events, money seems to have been plentiful. A traveler of 1856 writes this of St. Paul: "Eastern people come, expecting to find a new, unshaped city, with a rude and unrefined people, but they find a much higher degree of elegance, fashion and display, than in any other city of its size in the world. The ladies revel in finest silks and satins. The gents carry gold-headed canes, and keep splendid driving establishments. There is a larger display of finery than is consistent with a modest taste. All this, however, is indicative of success and prosperity." Of course, this couldn't last, and it seems inconceivable to us now that the inevitable cataclysm should not have been foreseen. During the following years, such comments as these are all too frequent: "Business dull, and money tight," or "Times awful. Debts about \$40,000.00, property worth many times as much, yet I fear the consequences." And I dare say there were thousands at the time who would have

echoed this. There are other entries for this period which prove the changes time has wrought in some of our ideas and standards of value. For instance, at Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, in 1853: "Took tea at Mr. Whittaker's, a gentleman of large fortune. Supposed to be worth three or four hundred thousand dollars, of his own making." About the same time in Washington: "Bill at National Hotel for 18 days, board, fires, etc. \$59.38," with this comment: "Enormous!" And this purchase is a pathetic reminder of an almost forgotten fashion: "Five shells—\$5.00!"

In 1855, on July 7, is this interesting record: "Taking a single buggy and two horses, drove up to Saint Anthony and Minneapolis, Fort Snelling, Mendota, and home again, about 6 P.M. taking Hon. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts with me. He expressed himself as highly delighted with the country." It is said to have been the graphic description given by Senator Sumner, after his visit to the Northwest, which inspired Longfellow's beautiful picture of Minnehaha Falls in *Hiawatha*, for the poet himself never saw them.⁴

In 1858 Minnesota was admitted into the Union of States, Mr. Sibley having already been elected its first governor. My father was chosen to succeed him in 1860, and it was while on an electioneering tour in the southern part of the state late in 1859 that he recorded a visit to New Ulm. I quote it as an example of the political fashion of the day: "The Democracy came into town, in a procession of some half dozen wagons, escorting Judge Larabee, Roth, etc. Larabee, when in front of the hotel, turning to me, said: 'Governor I want to meet you before all these people today.' I said: 'I will be with you, Judge.' We met and had a joint debate." In Chicago, on May 19, 1860, is this: "Left with the Committee of the National Convention for Springfield to inform the Hon. Abraham Lincoln of his nomination for the Presidency." (How one longs for a few details here.) Then came the presidential campaign, and all through that summer we read of the raising of Lincoln poles, of serenades by the Wide-Awakes, torchlight processions, and political meetings of both parties addressed by speakers of national prominence. But

⁴ For a note on "Minnehaha Falls and Longfellow's 'Hiawatha,'" see *ante*, 8:422-424.

without question the most important event of the campaign in Minnesota was the visit of William H. Seward, Lincoln's former competitor for the presidential nomination, but now canvassing the West in his interest. The entry in the diary for September 16 reads: "Hon. Wm. H. Seward and party arrived here today. In the evening an entertainment at our house for Governor Seward. About 125 present." On the eighteenth "there was a great Seward demonstration, 5,000 present. Seward spoke, so did Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts." This was the occasion when Minnesota was absolutely and definitely put on the map by Mr. Seward, when, in the course of his address, he said, "I now believe that the last seat of power on the great continent will be found somewhere within a radius not very far from the very spot where I stand, at the head of navigation on the Mississippi river."⁶

On November 6, 1860, the presidential election is reported thus: "Lincoln, President, Hamlin, Vice-president, elected. Very orderly day; and for the first time, Democrats entirely defeated in National, State, and County offices." And this, on the following day is significant: "The general result throughout the Union is understood."

The first inkling the diary gives of the dissension between North and South, which culminated ten or more years later in the Civil War, is this, written in Washington in December, 1849: "W. J. Brown, who had received 112 votes, 2 less than necessary for his election as speaker of the House, was suddenly precipitated from his upward flight by an exposure of his trickery in pledging himself at the same time to both North and South. Great indignation in the House." The next day there were "Great confusion and excited debate in the House of Representatives and no speaker yet elected." And during the intervening years there are such casual reminders as this: "Had expected that the Minnesota Railroad Bill would be called up today, but to our disappointment, the report of the Com-

⁶ Part of the diary of Charles Francis Adams, describing his visit to Minnesota with William H. Seward, has been edited by Theodore C. Blegen and published under the title, "Campaigning with Seward in 1860," *ante*, 8:150-171. Extracts from Seward's speech are quoted in the introduction to the document; the speech appears in full in the *Daily Times* of St. Paul for September 22, 1860.

mittee in the Sumner and Brooks case was again before the House to the exclusion of all other business."

My father was in Washington on state business in the spring of 1861, when the storm of the Civil War finally broke. The diary records on April 13: "News this evening of the surrender of Sumpter." On the fourteenth the entry reads: "Called early in company with Senator [Morton S.] Wilkinson, and tendered to the Sec'y of War, 1,000 men on behalf of Minnesota." A telegram sent to the Minnesota adjutant general the next day is recorded thus: "Minnesota called for a Regiment. Saw the President, Sec'y Seward etc." It was to this accidental presence in the Capital at just the right time that our state owes the privilege and honor of being the first to offer troops in defense of the Union. How ready and prompt was the response to the call may be inferred, for only twelve days later, on April 26, is this: "Engaged mostly today in determining which of the tendered volunteer companies were to be 'the ten,' about 5 of the tender, being in excess, were necessarily to be rejected." A few days later: "Spent the day at Fort Snelling where the volunteer Regiment rendezvoused. Appointed Gorman Colonel, [Stephen] Miller Lt. Colonel, and Dyke [*William H. Dyke*] Major, to the general satisfaction of officers and men." The entry for May 1 reads: "Telegraphed the Sec'y of War that Regiment was organized and awaiting orders." And on the fourteenth of June: "Recd. telegram from Washington and rode up to the Fort after 10 P.M. and issued orders for moving of Gorman's regiment to Washington." I have been told that there was doubt as to the ability of the state to raise the first thousand, but before the First Minnesota had marched away, other regiments had been called for and on November 16 the diary notes: "Third Regiment Minnesota Volunteers left Fort Snelling. The Regt. left lower landing [*at St. Paul*] at about 1½ P.M." In the midst of these warlike activities, this entry for September 19, though truly marking an era in Minnesota history, seems almost out of place: "Locomotive and car on Minnesota and Pacific Rail Road and being the first R. Road in the state and first locomotive ran about ½ mile . . . on this occasion."

But we have now reached very modern history and a period with which you are familiar. The diary follows closely the events of the war, and especially those which concerned our own troops, but so briefly that little new light is thrown on any of them. But how strangely familiar it all sounds today. In Washington, on May 18, 1861: "At the War office in reference to dispatch that coats, etc. would not be delivered for Regiment unless paid for." On the twentieth: "Received promise that clothing would be inspected for Regiment." Back in Minnesota on June 6: "Telegraphed War office to learn of clothing for this Regiment." Other regiments are mentioned in later entries. "With Col. [John B.] Sanborn drove up to Fort Snelling; there are now at the Fort, six companies of the 4th, one Battery of Artillery, two Companies of Cavalry, Werts and Blanks, Capt. Wert's company being called out, I made them a speech of farewell." Later on, "Evening at opera with wife given by the Richings for benefit of First Regiment." And again: "Wife with other ladies drove up to Fort Snelling to see the sick."

But how very different the battle front familiar to our imaginations today from that suggested by these entries of October, 1861! On the first, "About 9 A.M. in charge of Adj. [William B.] Leach and Lieut. [George] Pomeroy, set out for the camp of the First Minnesota Vols. near Poolsville about 35 miles from Washington. Reached camp about 7 P.M. Addressed troops, and was serenaded by band." On the second, "Went down to Edward's Ferry and on the bank of the river could see the enemies pickets close to the water on the other side. Afternoon Genl. Gorman had a fine drill of his men."

In March, 1862, the diary tells: "Received dispatch from Genl. [Henry W.] Halleck at Saint Louis to send down all troops. So have directed Col. Sanborn of the 4th to march forthwith." The calls for men continued to come, and on May 8: "Received telegram from Genl. Halleck to send down the 7 companies of the 5th to Hamburg Landing. Up to the Fort after dinner and, on the part of the State presented the 5th Regiment with a set of colors." On May 13: "Saw the 5th Regiment leave on board the 'Hawk Eye State' for Saint Louis." And then, when the state was almost drained of

its fighting men, like a bolt from the blue, came this message on the nineteenth of August: "Intelligence from Lower Sioux Agency, to the effect that the Sioux had murdered several persons there, also . . . at Acton in Meeker County, several were killed. Drove up to Fort Snelling and appointed Governor Sibley commander of a force, etc." And on succeeding days: "The Indians' enormities increase, with each successive Courier from the Indian border. 500 whites, it is feared, have been killed." And again: "During the last night was called up half a dozen times by Couriers from the seat of war or by parties concerned about the panic, which is driving out the people. Whole counties, North and West of the Minnesota River being depopulated." Then on October 2: "Information reached town last evening that about 100 white prisoners had been surrendered to Sibley by the Sioux. My dispatches from Sibley today confirm this." The Indians, you know, were finally rounded up and many of them captured by General Sibley. The leaders of the massacre were tried by a military commission and several hundred condemned to death. It was the execution, or rather nonexecution of this sentence, which became the burning question in Minnesota that autumn. The people of the state clamored for prompt and wholesale vengeance. The federal authorities hesitated, and there was great fear that relatives of the murdered victims might take the law into their own hands, as this for December 6 proves: "At 4 A.M. received from Gen. Sibley information of an attempt on Thursday night, near Mankato, to wrest the Indian prisoners from the wardship of the soldiers. Issued a proclamation to the people." President Lincoln signed an order for the immediate execution of thirty-nine Indians, the rest to be held awaiting further orders. Thirty-eight were hanged at Mankato on December 26, 1862.⁶ On March 25, 1863, the diary records: "Called upon the President. He gave me a patient and respectful hearing . . . then went into the subject of the execution of the Sioux Indians yet unhung. He said it was a disagreeable subject but he would take it up and dispose of it."

⁶ The original order for the execution, written and signed by Lincoln, is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. One of the condemned Indians was respited. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 2:210 (St. Paul, 1924).

It is here that the diary ceases to chronicle Minnesota events, and in the stress of those busy Washington years, the entries grow even briefer, with less of the personal about them. I have already far overtaxed your patience, but I cannot refrain from reading you this, written on November 23, 1864, just after Mr. Lincoln's second election to the presidency, for it gives so characteristic a glimpse of that great and tenderhearted man: "Called to see the President and Secretary of War in the evening. President in fine spirits, talks of the result of the election, majority in several states. Said his in Minnesota in 1860 was 10,000 and now only 7,000. I jocularly remarked that if he had hung more Indians, we should have given him his old majority. He said 'I could not afford to hang men for votes.'"

RELEASE

● MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

● SAINT PAUL 1, MINNESOTA

for release Sunday before
Lincoln's Birthday

by Crole Anderson
CE 1190
MI 1750, home

With the opening of the Abraham Lincoln papers at the Library of Congress in recent weeks, fresh historical data on Lincoln came to light.

And from St. Paul, far from the Library of Congress, comes a never-before-told story of the great president. It is related by Marion Ramsey Furness in the December 1947 issue of Minnesota History, the quarterly of the Minnesota Historical Society, where her article entitled "Governor Ramsey and Frontier Minnesota: Impressions from His Diary and Letters" appears.

Mrs. Furness was the daughter of Governor Alexander Ramsey, who came to Minnesota in 1849 to serve as its first territorial governor. Though the former died in 1935, this material was not made available until recently.

The diary records that on November 23, 1864, Ramsey, then U. S. Senator, called on Lincoln just after his second election to the presidency:

"Called to see the President and Secretary of War in the evening. President in fine spirits, talks of the result of the election, majority in several states. Said his in Minnesota in 1860 was 10,000 and now only 7,000. I jocularly remarked that if he had hung more Indians, we should have given him his old majority."

Lincoln said, "I could not afford to hang men for votes."

The President and the Senator had reference to the Sioux Indian Massacre of 1862, when the Sioux went on the war path and killed hundreds of settlers. The leaders of the massacre were tried by a military commission and several hundred condemned to death.

Lincoln signed an order for the immediate execution of only 39 of the condemned Indians, the rest were to be held awaiting further orders. Thirty-eight Indians were hanged at Mankato, December 26, 1862.

On March 25, 1863, Ramsey recorded in his diary:

"Called upon the President. He gave me a patient and respectful hearing... then went into the subject of the execution of the Sioux Indians yet unhung. He said it was a disagreeable subject but he would take it up and dispose of it."

The deeds of Lincoln and Ramsey will be dramatized when Minnesota celebrates its 100th birthday with the Territorial Centennial in 1949.

Note: The original order for the execution, written and signed by Lincoln, is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. One of the condemned Indians was respited. William W. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, 2:210 (St. Paul, 1924).

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEWS FOR MEMBERS

VOLUME 2 • JULY 1948 • NUMBER 9

OUR LINCOLN TRANSCRIPTS

Recently the society received photostatic copies of a number of items relating to Minnesota in the Robert Todd Lincoln collection of papers by and about Abraham Lincoln. The collection was given to the Library of Congress by Robert Lincoln, the president's son, in 1923, with the provision that they remain sealed for twenty-one years after his death. Last year, at the expiration of that period, they were opened to the public.

The transcripts received by the society relate to political matters in the state in the early 1860's, to recruiting during the Civil War, and to the Sioux Outbreak. Letters and telegrams about the Indian massacre reveal the widespread panic in Minnesota. Governor Ramsey telegraphed Lincoln that "half the population of the state are fugitives. . . . No one not here can conceive the panic in the state." Letters from Ramsey, from Generals Pope and Sibley, and from private citizens urge the immediate execution of the three hundred Indians condemned by the military commission. Pope telegraphed that "organizations of inhabitants are being rapidly made with the purpose of massacring these Indians," and urged the president to "sign an immediate disposition of the case," for the sake of both the Indians and the troops guarding them. Several letters from missionaries and others appeal for clemency on behalf of the Indians.

As many of you know, Lincoln's original signed order for the execution of thirty-eight of the condemned Indians has been in the possession of the society since 1868.

• • •

MONTEVIDEO FIESTA DAYS

Colorful parades and dances, a pageant, a South American barbecue, and a Latin-American art exhibit will be features of Fiesta Days in Montevideo on July 9, 10, and 11, the celebration held annually in the Minnesota city as a good-will gesture to Montevideo, Uruguay. A formal ceremony exchanging greetings between this country and Uruguay will be broadcast over an international radio hookup on July 11. Dr. Jose A. Mora, Minister, Uruguayan Embassy, will attend the celebration as the official representative of his country.

MEMBERSHIP NEWS

We are pleased to welcome eleven new members, who joined the society since the last issue of the *News*. They are:

AITKIN COUNTY. *Annual institutional member*: Aitkin County Historical Society.

CLAY COUNTY. *Annual member*: Julia O. Newton of Moorhead.

DAKOTA COUNTY. *Sustaining member*: H. T. Johnson of South St. Paul.

HENNEPIN COUNTY. *Annual members*: Howard J. Conn, Marion Crosby, and John L. Norbeck of Minneapolis.

KANDIYOHI COUNTY. *Annual members*: John M. Burt and J. C. Jacobs of Willmar.

PINE COUNTY. *Subscribing member*: Pine City Public Library.

RAMSEY COUNTY. *Annual member*: Mrs. John A. Moga of St. Paul.

ST. LOUIS COUNTY. *Sustaining member*: Charles Simon Raadquist of Hibbing.

Two annual members, Edgar L. Brainerd of Minneapolis and Mary S. Willes of St. Paul, have recently become life members of the society.

The death of a life member, Chilson Darrah Aldrich of Minneapolis, has recently been reported to the society.

• • •

JUNIOR HISTORIAN PRIZE WINNERS

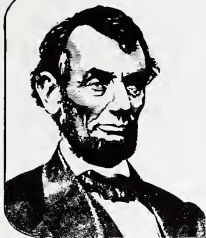
We have just received from Dean Horace Morse, chairman of the society's school committee, the names of the prize winners of this year's Junior Historian essay contest. In the senior high school division, Betty Lou Thiegles, a student at St. Benedict's High School at St. Joseph, was the winner of the first prize—a choice of \$50 in cash and a book on Minnesota history, or the Lothrop scholarship in history of \$75 at the state university. The second prize, \$25 and a book on Minnesota history, went to Donald Utzman of Harding High School in St. Paul. Rose Glatzel of St. Benedict's High School won the third prize, \$15 and a book on Minnesota history. The winner of the first prize in the junior high school division—\$25 and a book on Minnesota history—was Shirley Daynard of Greenway Junior High School at Coleraine.

• • •

THE SOCIETY'S SUMMER MEETING

Be sure to mark August 26 on your calendars, and save that day for the society's summer meeting. As we told you in the May issue of the *News*, the society will join with the citizens of Stillwater in celebrating the centennial of the Stillwater Convention of August 26, 1848. Features of the celebration will be a luncheon meeting at Scandia and a pageant at Stillwater, in which sixty-one members of the Minnesota State Bar Association will re-enact the proceedings of the convention, and citizens from Stillwater and near-by communities will dramatize scenes of pioneer life. Harold Searls, Territorial Centennial pageant director, has written the script for the pageant, and plans for staging it are well under way.

The complete program for the event will be printed in the August issue of the *News*.



Lincoln Lore

September, 1973

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1927

LINCOLN AND THE INDIANS

At four o'clock on the afternoon of August 21, 1862, Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, received a telegram from the Governor of Minnesota: "The Sioux on our western border have risen, and are murdering men, women, and children." On the very same afternoon, the Assistant Secretary of War received this telegram from Minnesota's Secretary of State: "A most frightful insurrection of Indians has broken out along our whole frontier. Men, women, and children are indiscriminately murdered; evidently the result of a deep-laid plan, the attacks being simultaneous along our whole border." Five days later, Minnesota's Governor Alexander Ramsey wrote President Lincoln, informing him that "Half the population of the State are fugitives."

These dire reports informed Lincoln of what has come to be called the Sioux Uprising of 1862. This episode has been largely ignored by history books and Lincoln biographies because it took place during the Civil War and was naturally overshadowed by that much greater conflict. Involving over two thousand Sioux warriors and as many as eight hundred white deaths, it was more a war than an uprising and in fact constituted one of the largest Indian wars in United States history. It has even been described as the first phase of that long, sometimes hot, sometimes cold war that would include more famous Indian battles, Custer's Last Stand and the Wounded Knee Massacre. The Sioux Uprising of 1862 included all the usual paraphernalia of war: several pitched battles between Indians and white soldiers, the use of field artillery in battles, a promotion to General's rank for the victorious commander, and even sieges of fortresses and towns.

Although the particular

incident which touched off hostilities between Indians and whites was a senseless murder by four renegade Indians, probably drunk and certainly taking a dare to prove their bravery by killing a white person, the reason the other Indians decided to join the renegades rather than

to turn them over to white authorities were many and varied, and extended back over a long period of time. There were at least three principal reasons:

(1) Treaties made with the Sioux in 1851 and 1858 had seen the Indians cede about twenty-four million acres of land for prices varying from thirteen to thirty cents an acre in exchange for cash payments and annuities to be paid to them over a period of fifty years. These treaties had provisions to pay individual Indians' debts directly to white traders who supplied the Indians with goods, so that the Indians received much less cash than they expected.

(2) The Indians knew, partly because of anti-Republican political speeches, that the state was undermined because many of the best young white warriors had left to fight the Confederacy. The Indians' fear of white power was as low as it had been for years.

(3) Most important, the 1862 annuity payment was late, and the Indians were hungry. The treaties stipulated that the Indians be paid in gold "so soon as the prairie grass was high enough for pasture," usually about the end of June. In 1862, the appropriation was delayed in Congress. It was also delayed a month by the Treasury Department, which because of the wartime scarcity of gold, debated whether to renege on the promise to pay in gold and pay in Civil War greenbacks instead. It was finally decided to send the gold, which arrived in St. Paul, Minnesota on August 16, a month and a half late and one day after the In-



REPRODUCTION OF ILLUSTRATION BY J. D. BROWN FOR THE LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE FOUNDATION

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

This picture was on the cover of *Harper's Weekly* on December 20, 1862. It was accompanied by a news story entitled "The Indian Murderers in Minnesota." Though Minnesotans complained that Easterners were sentimental about Indians, they had nothing to complain about in that regard from this New York publication. The artist who drew the sketch described the Indian prisoners he had seen: "They are the most hideous wretches that I have ever seen. I have been in the prisons of Singapore where the Malay pirates are confined—the Dyaks who are the most ferocious and blood-thirsty of their kind—but they are mild and humane in appearance compared to these Sioux warriors." The sketch shows a boy "who had escaped after seeing the murder and outrage of his mother and sisters" accuse a defiant Indian of the crimes with the aid of a Sioux interpreter friendly to the whites. "Sioux who were friendly to the whites were scorned as 'cut hairs' by their tribal brethren. Note that the Indian with the boy does have shorter hair than the defiant prisoners."

dians went on the warpath. Traders had refused to extend the Indians credit pending the arrival of the annuity payments, telling them that they could eat grass if they were hungry. Among the first whites killed were the men who ran the agency stores, and the man who told the Indians to graze was found dead with grass stuffed in his mouth.

After several murders of civilian farmers, soldiers fought a series of battles with the Indians, and the uprising was quelled by October of 1862. The hostile tribes surrendered, and the federal and state authorities began dealing with the problem of punishment.

A five-man military commission was appointed by the commander in the field, H. H. Sibley, an appointee of the Minnesota Governor, who also held a federal army commission. The work of the five-man commission also had the sanction of the federally appointed commander of the Northwest Indian District, General John Pope. Three hundred ninety-two Indians were selected by the local military authorities (out of some two thousand who surrendered) to stand trial before the military commission. The commission met from September 28 to November 5—over a month—but tried the bulk of the cases, three hundred of them, in just ten days. According to one witness at the trials, a Reverend Riggs, as many as forty cases were tried in one day.

The first man tried was a mulatto named Godfrey, who was found guilty of participating in the uprising and sentenced to death by hanging. However, in exchange for commutation of his death sentence to a ten-years' prison term, he turned state's evidence and fingered some of the rest of the Indians who were found guilty. Of the three hundred ninety-two tried, about three hundred were sentenced to death, and sixteen to prison terms. Most of the guilty, however, simply confessed to this charge: "Participation in the murders, outrages and robberies committed by the Sioux tribe. . . . In this, that the said [Indian's name] did join with the participants in the murders and outrages committed by the Sioux tribe of Indians on the Minnesota frontier. . . . particularly in the battles at the Fort, New Ulm, Birch Coolie, and Wood Lake."

The Fort, New Ulm, Birch Coolie, and Wood Lake were pitched battles between Minnesota militia soldiers and Indian warriors. Some of the battles even included former Union soldiers taken prisoner in the Civil War and paroled by the Confederates; their presence was of questionable legality in light of the parole agreements made with the Confederate States and certainly lent the Minnesota outbreak even more of an aura of official warfare. Nevertheless, note the ambiguity of the court's charge. The Indians pleaded guilty to the charge of participation in (among other things) "Murder," but the particular instance was for the most part a pitched battle and not some isolated bushwhacking of a helpless Minnesota farmer. Probably the reason the court could process thirty trials a day was the readiness of the Indians to confess their crimes, and probably that readiness to confess stemmed from a belief that they were confessing to engaging in warfare (to be treated, then, as prisoners of war) and not confessing to murder (to be hanged). Nonetheless, about three hundred were sentenced to hang, and General Pope sent Lincoln a list of the names of the condemned men.

The reason Pope sent the telegram was obvious: neither he nor General Sibley was certain he had the legal authority to hang three hundred Indians. Sibley informed his superior on September 28 that he had seized sixteen Indians and appointed a military commission to try them: "If found guilty they will be immediately executed, although I am somewhat in doubt whether my authority extends quite so far." On the same day, he expressed similar doubts to another Minnesota commander, saying the Indians would be executed if found guilty, "although perhaps it will be a stretch of my authority. If so, necessity must be my justification." On October 7, he informed Pope that twenty had been sentenced to hang. "I have not yet," he explained, "examined the proceedings of the military commission, but although they may not be exactly in form in all the details I shall probably approve them, and hang the villains. . . ." In this remarkable letter Sibley expressed doubts about the propriety of the commission's proceedings on the one hand, and his determination to hang the Indians on the

other. His mind was perhaps made up even before he read the court transcripts, and legality obviously was not his primary concern. He had told Pope on September 28 the purpose of the military trial: "An example is imperatively necessary, and I trust you will approve the act, should it happen that some real criminals have been seized and promptly disposed of."

General Pope did endorse the work of the military commission that tried the Indians, but the legality of the proceedings rested perhaps more lightly upon his conscience. Writing to his superior General Henry W. Halleck on October 10, 1862, Pope said of Sibley's captured Indians, "It will be necessary to execute many of them. . . . The example of hanging many of the perpetrators of the late outrages is necessary and will have a crushing effect." Yet three days later he had to write Halleck again to ask what Sibley had asked him: "Do I need further authority to execute Indians condemned by military commission?" It is doubtful whether in Pope's case the military commission was seen as anything other than an extension of the army's military effort to crush the Sioux uprising. While the war still raged in mid-September, Pope wrote Sibley to counsel him against truce:

I think it best to make no arrangement of any kind with them until they are badly punished. . . . I think as we have the men and means now we had best put a final stop to Indian troubles by exterminating or ruining all the Indians engaged in the late outbreak. . . . I do not think it best to close the campaign until the very last moment, even should our men suffer much.

Even after the initial danger to Minnesota citizens had passed, Pope told Stanton: "I apprehend no further danger to the white settlements in Minnesota, but the Indians will be pursued, and, if possible, exterminated in Dakota and Nebraska." Stanton had bigger problems on his mind; he did not want Pope to "detain in your department any more troops than are absolutely necessary for protection from the Indians" because war raged elsewhere in the United States. Pope replied, in essence, that Stanton had no idea how bad things were.

Do not misunderstand the facts. It is not only the Sioux with whom we have to deal. All the Indians—Sioux, Chippewa, and Winnebagoes—are on the verge of outbreak along the whole frontier.

The Sioux war was finished (Sibley's trial began three days after this letter was written), and the Chippewas and Winnebagoes had not joined the Sioux and were not likely to now that the Sioux had faced military reverses. On the day the trials began, Pope told Sibley his view of Indians:

There will be no peace in this region by virtue of treaties and Indian faith. It is my purpose utterly to exterminate the Sioux if I have the power to do so and even if it requires a campaign lasting the whole of next year. . . . They are to be treated as maniacs or wild beasts, and by no means as people with whom treaties or compromises can be made.

Clearly, for Pope the trial was not an attempt to find justice but another form of warfare.

To Pope's telegram informing him of the proposed executions, President Lincoln sent this reply on November 10, 1862:

Your despatch giving the names of three hundred Indians condemned to death, is received. Please forward, as soon as possible, the full and complete record of these convictions. And if the record does not fully indicate the more guilty and influential, of the culprits, please have a careful statement made on these points and forwarded to me.

What is remarkable about Lincoln's reply is the evidence of the speed with which he apparently arrived at a decision not to hang all the Indians listed in Pope's telegram. Already Lincoln wanted to make distinctions among the condemned.

It is all the more remarkable because Lincoln probably had no official report on the nature of the trials (though he may have known something about them from personal interviews with people from Minnesota in Washington). Critics of the trials claimed they were hasty. In later years, Minnesotans would defend the trials. Charles E. Flandrau, who was a lawyer and a militia commander in

the Minnesota Sioux Uprising of 1862, wrote over twenty years after the event that the trial was a good one because of "the fact that the Hon. Isaac V. D. Heard, an experienced lawyer of St. Paul, who had been for many years the prosecuting attorney of Ramsey county [and] was thoroughly versed in criminal law, was on the staff of Col. Sibley, and was by him appointed recorder of the court."

What Lincoln thought of the procedural aspects of the military commission's work is not known precisely, but the nature of much of the information and advice he received in the case is known. To review this information and advice is to become even more startled at Lincoln's reply to Pope and at his rather lengthy deliberation on the case (Lincoln's decision was not announced until December).

The voices from Minnesota that Lincoln heard were almost uniformly in favor of immediate execution. General Pope advised the President "that the only distinction between the culprits is as to which of them murdered most people or violated most young girls. All of them are guilty of these things in more or less degree." Most of the advice Lincoln got from the field, in fact, was more a threat than advice. Pope said that if the Indians were not executed, there would be no preventing the wrath of the people of Minnesota from resulting in "the indiscriminate massacre of all the Indians—old men, women, and children." The Governor of Minnesota sent Lincoln the same advice-as-veiled-threat: "I hope the execution of every Sioux Indian condemned by the military court will be at once ordered. It would be wrong upon principle and policy to refuse this. Private revenge would on all this border take the place of official judgment on these Indians."

Lincoln was a politician, sensitive to public opinion. The people of St. Paul, for example, were among the voters on whom Lincoln's career depended. They sent the President a memorial, requesting that Lincoln should perform his duty to execute the Indians and expressing a hope (which was actually another threat) that the friends of those "foully murdered by these Indian devils, will not be compelled to take vengeance into their own hands, as they assuredly will if Government shall fail in its duty." Lincoln received an address also from the politically powerful men of the state. From one senator and both representatives Lincoln received this advice: "These Indians are called by some prisoners of war. There was no war about it. It was wholesale robbery, rape, murder. . . . let the Law be executed"; otherwise "the outraged people of Minnesota will dispose of those wretches without law."

It may be objected that these were the voices of passionate and emotional partisans, too close to the event to give impartial advice of the sort a President needs. Lincoln had a trusted personal advisor on the scene too. In July of 1862, before the Sioux uprising broke out, Lincoln sent one of his two private secretaries, John G. Nicolay, to Minnesota to help conclude a treaty with the Chippewa Indians. Since Nicolay was in Minnesota at the time of the Sioux outbreak, Lincoln was able to get first-hand information from a personal associate on the scene.

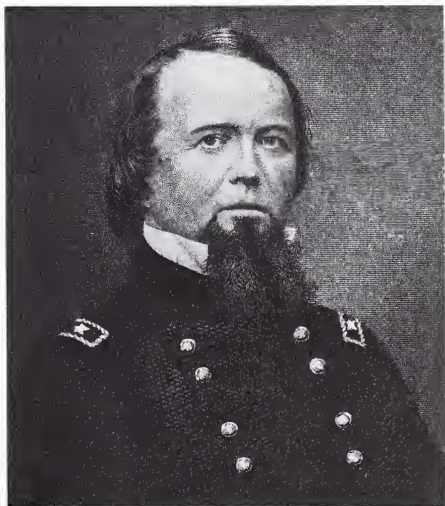
John Nicolay's daughter, Helen, who was also his biographer, made this evaluation of John Nicolay's views on Indians: "My father entertained no sentimental illusions about the North American Indians. He had grown up too near frontier times in Illinois to regard them as other than cruel and savage enemies whose moral code (granted they had one) was different from that of the whites." To judge from Nicolay's reports to the President, one would have to say that Helen knew her father well. In August, he wrote the President, telling him that "the massacre of innocent white settlers has been fearful." Nicolay's opinion in a letter to the Secretary of War was this: "As against the Sioux it must be a war of extermination." It seems unlikely that the advice of Lincoln's personal observer on the scene differed from that of Pope, Governor Ramsey, or the citizens of St. Paul.

Lincoln also got legal advice. The legal questions were extremely complex and confusing, as is evident from the doubts on the part of the very man who set up the military tribunal to sentence the Indians as to whether he had the authority to carry out the sentences. It is

not known on how many points Lincoln sought or received advice, but it is known that he got one very important piece of advice. On December 1, he wrote the Judge Advocate General, who was the highest legal authority in the U.S. Army, "whether if I should conclude to execute only a part of them, I must myself designate which, or could I leave the designation to some officer on the ground?" The Judge Advocate General informed the President that the executive pardoning power could not be delegated: Lincoln must himself choose. This piece of advice was important since it is hard to imagine what officer in the field could be found to make any discriminate choices among the Indians, all viewed simply as murderers and devils.

Lincoln also received information from what might be called the Indian experts in the field, in particular, from the Indian Commissioner, William P. Dole, and from the Episcopal Bishop of Minnesota, one Henry B. Whipple, who had always taken a special interest in the Indians of his diocese. Indian Commissioner Dole gave legal advice: to execute the Indians would be "an indiscriminate punishment of men who have laid down their arms and surrendered themselves as prisoners." He thought they should be treated as prisoners of war and not as murderers.

Bishop Whipple gave Lincoln moral advice based on three years' experience with Indian missions. Forty years old at the time of the Sioux uprising, Whipple had come to his Minnesota episcopate from upper New York state, but he had been educated in part at Oberlin Collegiate Institute in Ohio. In his autobiography, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*, Whipple heaped special praise on Charles Grandison Finney, president of Oberlin, for his "kindness and consideration . . . and his loving interest in my career." Perhaps it was from Finney that Whipple derived his underlying faith that religion was a matter of the heart rather than the head. It was this faith that allowed Whipple to ignore the



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

John Pope (1822-1892) was born in Kentucky and educated at West Point. After service in the Mexican War, he was stationed for a while in Minnesota. He would return to Minnesota after his defeat by Confederate forces in the Second Battle of Manassas; thus his command of the Department of the Northwest was a way of denying him field command. Most short biographical sketches of Pope skip over his role in the Sioux Uprising of 1862, saying only that he served "creditably." Though he was born in the same state that Lincoln was, the two did not share the same attitudes towards Indians.

advice of "good men . . . to have nothing to do with Indian Missions, on the ground that the red men were a degraded, perishing race." He always pitched his message in "simple language in order to reach the heart."

Whipple was elected bishop of Minnesota in 1859, and began a long career of work in behalf of the American Indian almost immediately. After his very first visit to Indian country in 1859, Whipple wrote a long letter to President James Buchanan, detailing the evils of the government's Indian policy and recommending reform. He told Buchanan that the principal "curse of the Indian country is the fire-water which flows throughout its borders." Six factors in the government's policy either encouraged or failed to discourage the liquor traffic on the reservations:

First, the policy of our Government has been to treat the red man as an equal. Treaties are then made. The annuities are paid in gross sums annually; from the Indian's lack of providence and the influence of traders, a few weeks later every trace of the payment is gone. Second, the reservations are scattered and have a widely extended border of ceded lands. As the Government has no control over the citizens of the state, traffic is carried on openly on the border. Third, the Indian agents have no police to enforce the laws of Congress, and cannot rely upon the officers elected by a border population to suppress a traffic in which friends are interested. Fourth, the army, being under

the direction of a separate department, has no definite authority to act for the protection of the Indians. Fifth, if arrests are made, the cases must be tried before some local state officer, and often the guilty escape. Sixth, as there is no distinction made by the Government between the chief of temperate habits and the one of intemperate, the tribe loses one of the most powerful influences for good,—that of pure official example.

The reforms that this indictment suggested were obvious. Whipple wanted to change the whole basis of United States relations with the Indians so that they would be not the equals but the "wards" of the government. He thought the government should "occupy a paternal character" and give the Indians "all supplies in kind as needed" rather than cash which could be spent on liquor. The federal commissioners should have authority to try violations of Indian laws, to prosecute and enforce laws against liquor traders, and to dismiss intemperate chiefs. The Indians should be more concentrated in certain areas and should be encouraged to own their own farms.

Although Bishop Whipple was a self-described "Democrat of the conservative school," he did not confine his efforts to Democratic Presidents. Several months before the Sioux outbreak in Minnesota, Whipple wrote President Lincoln about the problems of United States Indian policy. On March 6, 1862, the Bishop wrote to "ask only justice for a wronged and neglected race." By this time, Whipple had broadened his criticism, laying the blame on other factors besides demon rum. The sale of Indian lands, he claimed, left the wild man without the hunting grounds necessary for his economic livelihood and weakened the authority of the chiefs over the tribes. The government's Indian agents got their jobs as political plums rather than as rewards for merit and expertise in dealing with Indians.

Whipple's letter dealt with the broadest assumptions behind Indian policy:

The first question is, can these red men become civilized? I say, unhesitatingly, *yes*. The Indian is almost the only heathen man on earth who is not an idolater. In his wild state, he is braver, more honest, and virtuous than most heathen races. He has warm home affections and strong love of kindred and country.

Whipple claimed that British policies towards the Indians were much more successful than the United States's and revealed "some marked instances of their capability of civilization." There was a sad contrast between Canada, where "you will find there are hundreds of civilized and Christian Indians," and "this side of the line," where "there is only degradation."

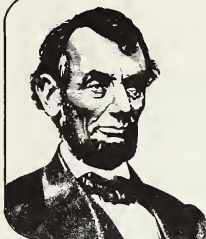
Whipple's recommendations were based on the same idea he had suggested in 1860 to President Buchanan. The government should frame its instructions to its agents "so that the Indian shall be the ward of the Government. They cannot live without law. We have broken up, in part, their tribal relations, and they must have something in their place." Administrations had changed since Whipple's letter to Buchanan, and the Indian agency appointments had changed too. He was more impressed than before that the office of Indian agent should not "become one of mere political favoritism." He insisted again that agricultural pursuits should be encouraged: "the Government ought to aid him in building a house, in opening his farm, in providing utensils and implements of labor." In particular, "his home should be conveyed to him by a patent, and be inalienable." Schools should be ample enough "to receive all children who desire to attend." "As it is," the Bishop complained, "with six thousand dollars appropriated for the Lower Sioux for some seven years past, I doubt whether there is a child at the lower agency who can read who has not been taught by our missionary." Though he did say the government employees should be "temperate" men, conspicuously absent from Whipple's letter was the previous emphasis on alcohol as the root of the problem. Gone completely was his proposal that intemperate chiefs be dismissed by the government. He had become concerned with what *drove* the Indians to drink more than with the mere availability of alcohol.

(To Be Continued)



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Hole-in-the-Day was a Chippewa and not a Sioux (the two tribes were traditional enemies, in fact), but he was responsible for bringing Lincoln's private secretary John G. Nicolay to Minnesota in 1862. This photograph, taken in Minnesota at the time of the Sioux uprising, comes from an album once owned by John Nicolay and now in the possession of the Lincoln Library and Museum. Nicolay wrote an article on Hole-in-the-Day which appeared in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1863. It is reprinted in Theodore C. Blegen, ed., *Lincoln's Secretary Goes West: Two Reports by John G. Nicolay on Frontier Indian Troubles 1862* (La Crosse, Wis.: Sumac Press, 1965).



Lincoln Lore

October, 1973

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1628

LINCOLN AND THE INDIANS (Cont.)

The effect of Whipple's letter on Abraham Lincoln is unknown, but Lincoln did at least acknowledge the letter. Writing on March 27, 1862, the President stated that he had "commended the matter of which it treats to the special attention of the Secretary of the Interior." This letter may have had a significant effect on subsequent events because of its timeliness. Pleas to show mercy to the convicted Indians eight or nine months later may have seemed less to be instances of special pleading and more to be admonitions to a forewarned government. In August, Whipple's letter of March 6 could be seen as a prophecy of trouble and one that laid the blame not on the wanton passions of the red man but upon the inept policies of the white.

Whipple had good connections in Washington because General Henry W. Halleck was his cousin. Through Halleck he gained a personal audience with President Lincoln in the Autumn of 1862 after the Sioux uprising

occurred. What is known of the meeting comes entirely from Whipple's autobiography:

General Halleck went with me to the President, to whom I gave an account of the outbreak, its causes, and the suffering and evil which followed in its wake. Mr. Lincoln had known something of Indian warfare in the Black Hawk War. He was deeply moved. He was a man of profound sympathy, but he usually relieved the strain upon his feelings by telling a story. When I had finished he said:—

"Bishop, a man thought that monkeys could pick cotton better than negroes could because they were quicker and their fingers smaller. He turned a lot of them into his cotton field, but he found that it took two overseers to watch one monkey. It needs more than one honest man to watch one Indian Agent."

Whipple's knowledge of Lincoln's more profound reaction was second or third hand:



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

The photograph shows John G. Nicolay (standing) in Minnesota on August 24, 1862. The Minnesota Historical Society has tentatively identified the man seated as Indian commissioner William P. Dole. Both men gave Lincoln information about the Sioux uprising.

A short time after this, President Lincoln, meeting a friend from Illinois, asked him if their old friend, Luther Dearborn, had not moved to Minnesota. Receiving an affirmative answer, he said: "When you see Lute, ask him if he knows Bishop Whipple. He came out here the other day and talked with me about the rascality of this Indian business until I felt it down to my boots. If we get through this war, and I live, *this Indian system shall be reformed!*"

Anyone with any acquaintance with Lincoln literature knows to be suspicious of anecdotes which come second hand, especially if one of the parties involved remains nameless in the anecdote. It should be noted that Whipple reported a much more non-committal response from the President's personal interview. Nevertheless, as will be argued later, there is some evidence that Whipple's efforts may have had some effect on President Lincoln.

As Whipple suggested when he said that Lincoln had had some experience himself with Indian warfare, the personal factors in Lincoln's decision should not be ignored. There was little in Lincoln's personal background to lead one to believe that his opinions of Indians would have differed from John Nicolay's. If Nicolay had lived too close to Illinois's frontier days to have any "sentimental illusions" about Indians, Lincoln, who was older than Nicolay, had lived even closer to Illinois's frontier era. In fact, Lincoln had enlisted in the Illinois militia in 1832 to fight in the Black Hawk War. Lincoln had marched, fought off mosquitoes, had his horse stolen, and in general endured the hardships of a military campaign (as both a captain and a private), though he never saw an Indian or fired a shot. Still, his response when Indian troubles had brewed had been to join up and fight.

However innocuous Lincoln's personal experiences with Indian warfare had been (and later he would make fun of them in Congress), there was a reason why he might have harbored quite a grudge against Indians. Lincoln knew very little about his personal family background and does not seem to have cared about it a great deal, but one thing he did know and mentioned repeatedly: his grandfather on the Lincoln side had been killed by Indians in 1784. Lincoln blamed this for the shortcomings he found in his father Thomas. Thus in an autobiographical sketch he wrote in 1860, Lincoln said: "Thomas, the youngest son, and father of the present subject, by the early death of his father, and very narrow circumstances of his mother, even in childhood was a wandering laboring boy, and grew up literally without education. He never did more in the way of writing than to bunglingly sign his own name." In a way, Lincoln blamed the Indians for making an orphan of

his father and therefore depriving him of a proper education and upbringing. Moreover, Lincoln knew that the Indians were capable of murder, for his grandfather had not died in battle. As Abraham Lincoln himself explained, "he was killed by Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest."

Yet the decision Lincoln made reflected little of the advice he received and none of his personal background. Lincoln announced his decision in the case of the condemned Sioux Indians to Congress this way:

Anxious to not act with so much clemency as to encourage another outbreak on the one hand, nor with so much severity as to be real cruelty on the other, I caused a careful examination of the records of trials to be made, in view of first ordering the execution of such as had been proved guilty of violating females. Contrary to my expectations, only two of this class was found. I then directed a further examination, and a classification of all who were proven to have participated in *massacres*, as distinguished from participation in *battles*. This class numbered forty and included the two convicted of female violation.

As a result of Lincoln's decision, only thirty-eight Indians were hanged; the rest were kept prisoner a while and some were eventually pardoned.

Lincoln had delegated the sifting and winnowing task to George C. Whiting and Francis H. Ruggles. Although Lincoln's message had claimed to distinguish essentially between Indians guilty of rape and murder and Indians who had engaged in military battles, the final decision apparently retained something of the original desideratum Lincoln used when replying to Pope's telegram. Some of the thirty-eight condemned Indians were more ringleaders than murderers. In the list he presented to Congress, for example, appeared this particular charge against Rda-in-yan-kna: "Took a prominent part in all the battles, including the attack on New Ulm, leading and urging the Indians forward, and opposing the giving up of the captives when it was proposed by others." Still another, Hay-pee-don, may have been sentenced to death for mutilating a corpse and firing "many shots at the fort."

Edmund S. Morgan points out in a recent American history textbook, *The National Experience*, that Indian victories in American history are generally known as massacres. When Lincoln distinguished between Indian massacres and Indian battles, he made a distinction that Americans did not often make at that time, and, as Mr. Morgan reminds us, that Americans still have trouble making. Moreover, Lincoln made the distinction in de-



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Another photograph taken in Minnesota during Nicolay's visit there in 1862 shows the President's secretary taking some shooting practice. To judge from this picture and the weapons Nicolay carried in the picture on the first page, one would have to say Nicolay apparently felt he was supposed to look the part of a rugged frontiersman. Whether he also felt compelled to adopt the frontiersmen's attitudes toward Indians is an interesting question. However, Nicolay's account of "The Sioux War," which appeared in *The Continental Monthly* in February of 1863, was more temperate in its recommendations for future Indian policy than General Pope's advice and clearly discounted the idea that the war had been planned in advance by the Indians.

fiance of most of the information from the field (which had informed him only of murders, rapes, and outrages) and most of the advice from witnesses, influential politicians, and even a close personal advisor.

Two factors probably influenced Lincoln. Perhaps the fact that the Indian uprising occurred during the Civil War served to clarify the legal issues involved. Certainly Lincoln was thinking about the characteristics and consequences of a legal state of war. He treated the Civil War as both a war and a rebellion. Had Lincoln treated it strictly as a rebellion, he would have hanged all Confederate prisoners and he could not have declared a naval blockade recognizable in international law. Had Lincoln treated it strictly as a war, it would have meant that the Confederacy was a legal belligerent government or perhaps a nation, a position that would have utterly undermined the administration's ideological basis for the war. Moreover, Congress never declared war. The position of the Lincoln administration was not exactly consistent, but it was one that permitted enough use of the war power to win the war and free the slaves without at the same time unleashing incredible atrocities.

The Sioux outbreak was a similarly complex legal situation. On the one hand, it resembled a war between independent nations. In 1862, Indians were not United States citizens. They were dealt with by treaties just as any sovereign foreign nation was dealt with. Thus Indians who fought in pitched battles with white soldiers were perhaps entitled to the status of prisoners of war rather than traitors or murderers. On the other hand, Congress did not declare war, and Indian tribes were not sovereign states in the same sense that France and England were because they were forbidden from entering into treaties with other foreign nations besides the United States. John Marshall had said in a Supreme Court decision in 1831 that the Cherokee Nation, although it was a "State," was not a "foreign State" but a "domestic dependent nation." In a way, Lincoln treated the Sioux in a constitutionally inconsistent way, much as he treated the Confederate States in a constitutionally inconsistent way, in order to gain deterrence of future Sioux outbreaks without at the same time causing atrocities.

Charles E. Flandrau, although he disagreed with the wisdom of Lincoln's actions, thought (many years after the event) that the pressures of Civil War politics did have a great deal to do with Lincoln's decision.

I have my own views also of the reasons for the action of the general Government in eliminating from the list of the condemned all but thirty-nine [one of these was later reprieved, so that thirty-eight were hanged]. It was not because these thirty-nine were more guilty than the rest, but because we were engaged in a great civil war, and the eyes of the world were upon us. Had these three hundred men been executed, the charge would undoubtedly have been made by the South that the North was murdering prisoners of war, and the authorities at Washington knew full well that the other nations of the earth were not capable of making the proper discrimination. . . .

Flandrau also mentioned the notion that was prevalent in Minnesota that Lincoln's mind had been poisoned by a lot of sickly sentimentalists from the East. Flandrau believed Lincoln got this kind of advice, but he did not say that Lincoln was heeding it in his decision in December of 1862. As Flandrau put it, "While this court martial was in session, the news of its proceedings reached the Eastern cities, and a great outcry was raised that Minnesota was contemplating a dreadful massacre of Indians. Many influential bodies of well-intentioned but ill-informed people besieged President Lincoln to put a stop to the proposed executions." A much more capable Minnesota historian than Flandrau, writing over thirty years later than Flandrau wrote, apparently put some stock in these same provincial fears, writing with a sneer: "No sooner was it known that President Lincoln had taken the disposition of the condemned Indians into his own hands than he was inundated with 'appeals': appeals for mercy, on the one hand, from friends of the Indian who never had seen one, from people opposed to the death penalty, and from those who regarded the convicts as prisoners of war." In fact, the existence of these appeals remains

largely unverified, and Abraham Lincoln did not submit them to the Senate, when it asked for information about the case, though he submitted, for example, the quite unsentimental appeal from the citizens of St. Paul.

One exception, of course, would be the advice that Lincoln received from Bishop Whipple, whom the people of Minnesota regarded as an "enthusiastic tenderfoot" in Indian matters. The principal evidence for Whipple's influence is second and third hand, but there are some indications from sources other than the Bishop's own autobiography that Lincoln may have been influenced from that quarter.

In his Annual Message to Congress of December 1, 1862, Lincoln had occasion to mention the Indian troubles in Minnesota. He admitted that "How this outbreak was induced is not definitely known," and he informed Congress that the "people of that State manifest much anxiety for the removal of the tribes beyond the limits of the state." Yet, in conclusion he added, "I submit for your especial consideration whether our Indian system shall not be remodelled. Many wise and good men have impressed me with the belief that this can be profitably done." Of course, his message was silent on the type of reform he proposed, but the Indian war did suggest reform in the Indian system to him. A year later, Lincoln's Annual Message carried another appeal for reform, this time with a clue to the nature of reform he desired:

Sound policy and our imperative duty to these wards of the government demand our anxious and constant attention to their material well-being, to the progress in the arts of civilization, and, above all, to that moral training which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, will confer upon them the elevated and sanctifying influences, the hopes and consolation of the Christian faith.

I suggested in my last annual message the propriety of remodelling our Indian system. Subsequent events have satisfied me of its necessity. The details set forth in the report of the Secretary evince the urgent need for immediate legislative action.

The key lies in Lincoln's use of the term "wards" to describe the Indians' status *vis-a-vis* the United States government. It was basically a reformer's word. Moreover, it was a word which described perfectly the relationship to the Indians which Bishop Whipple desired the government to assume. He argued for a more paternalistic government, a government which would not treat the Indians as "equals," a government which would furnish them with supplies in kind but could not trust them to spend money on their own, and a government that would treat them kindly and fairly. In short, he wanted Indians to become wards of the government. Whipple's letter to Buchanan used the very word, suggesting, "First, whether, in future, treaties cannot be made so that the Government shall occupy a paternal character, treating the Indians as their wards."

When Lincoln addressed a group of Indian chiefs directly in Washington in March of 1863, he avoided saying that the Indians should adopt the white men's way of life, but he did tell them "what has made the difference in our way of living" so that the whites were "numerous and prosperous." It was agriculture. When pressed for advice, he said, "I can only say that I can see no way in which your race is to become as numerous and prosperous as the white race except by living as they do, by the cultivation of the earth." Whipple's recommendation to Lincoln had urged that the Indians be granted individual lots of land held as private property and that they be supplied the tools and training to become successful farmers.

Indian reformers later in the century would urge many of the same things. G. P. Manypenny's landmark book about Indian reform was, significantly, entitled *Our Indian Wards* (1879). Henry Whipple went on to write a preface to Helen Hunt Jackson's famous treatment of the history of the United States' dealings with Indians, *A Century of Dishonor* (1881). Whether Lincoln would have joined Helen Hunt Jackson's crusade for the Indian had he lived, can only be a matter of speculation.

One thing, however, seems clear. Lincoln did earn a

reputation for being "soft" on Indians. Charles Flandrau said so in 1891:

An Indian never forgets what he regards an injury, and never forgives an enemy. It is my opinion that all the troubles that have transpired since the liberation of these Indians, with the tribes inhabiting the Western plains and mountains, have grown out of the counsels of these savages. The only proper course to have pursued with them, when it was decided not to hang them, was to have exiled them to some remote post,—say, the Dry Tortugas,—where communication with their people would have been impossible. . . . Flandrau blamed Lincoln's clemency for all the Sioux troubles that ensued further west after the Civil War.

Indeed, Lincoln gained his reputation at least as early as 1864. The memoirs of an Indian fighter named Eugene F. Ware mention this conversation about some Indian troubles in the West in 1864:

During the day Lieutenant Rankin came and rode with me, and we talked over the Indian council. Rankin said the General [named Mitchell] was angry and mortified over it; that if it had been successful it would have been a great achievement and much to his reputation and credit; that it was not Mitchell's idea, but that a lot of preachers had got at President Lincoln and insisted that the preachers should have the control of the Indian situation, and that the various sects should divide the control among themselves—that is to say, the Methodists should have so much jurisdiction, the Catholics so much, the Baptists so much, and so on, and that they were worrying Lincoln a good deal, and that they wanted him to take immediate steps to have an universal Indian peace between all the Indians. Lincoln yielded to much of it and had sent for Mitchell and told him to take up the matter and see what he could do.

Friends of the Indian and Indian fighters alike seem to have agreed that on the Indian question the preachers "got at President Lincoln."

Lincoln's opinions on Indians reached almost mythic proportions by 1932, when The American Missionary Association published a pamphlet by one George W. Hinman, entitled "Lincoln Sunday, February 14, 1932: Lin-

coln and the Indians." The pamphlet was a script for a responsive reading for a worship service. The American Missionary Association ran schools and churches for Negroes and Indians, and the Superintendent was to ask his pupils, "When did the Dakota [Sioux] Indians in large numbers turn from their pagan religion to Christianity?" The pupils were to reply, "Only after the Minnesota Massacre in 1862, when four hundred Indians were imprisoned in the Federal Prison at Mankato, Minn., and condemned to death for their part in the attack on white settlers." The service continued:

Supt.—What did President Lincoln do for the Dakota Indian prisoners?

Pupils—In the dark years of 1862, the second year of the Civil War, when the future of the Union was very uncertain and Lincoln was pondering the question of the emancipation of the slaves as a war measure, he took his valuable time to study the reports of the military trials of the four hundred Dakota Indians accused of sharing in the Minnesota Massacre.

Supt.—And what was his decision?

Pupils—After going over all the evidence he decided that only thirty-eight Indians, positively known to have engaged in actual massacres, should be hung . . .

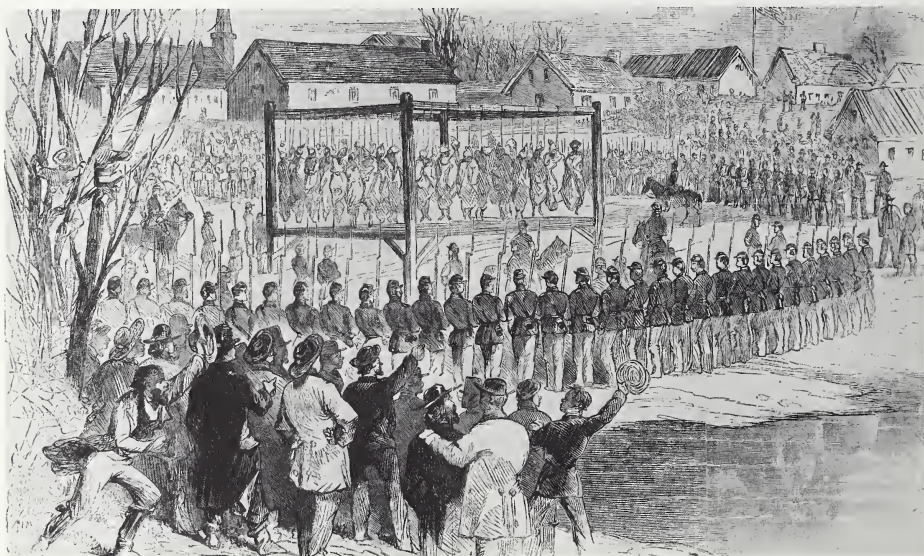
Supt.—What did Lincoln say about the Indians in a message to Congress?

Pupils—He advocated a revision of the whole government Indian service. He resisted the appeals for drastic action against the Indians, objecting to a "severity which would be real cruelty."

Supt.—What was one of Lincoln's famous statements, which he applied to Indians in the same spirit as to those of his own race?

Pupils—"With malice toward none and charity for all."

The missionaries erred in regard to the number of Indians condemned and saved, but they, and perhaps some of their pupils as well, did not forget what many historians have, Lincoln's actions towards the Minnesota Sioux Indians in 1862.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

This picture of the hanging in Mankato appeared in *Harper's Weekly* on January 17, 1863. The large number of soldiers were present to restrain the crowds. Note that the observers wave their hats as though celebrating.

HISTORIC FORT SNELLING



Administered by the Minnesota Historical Society

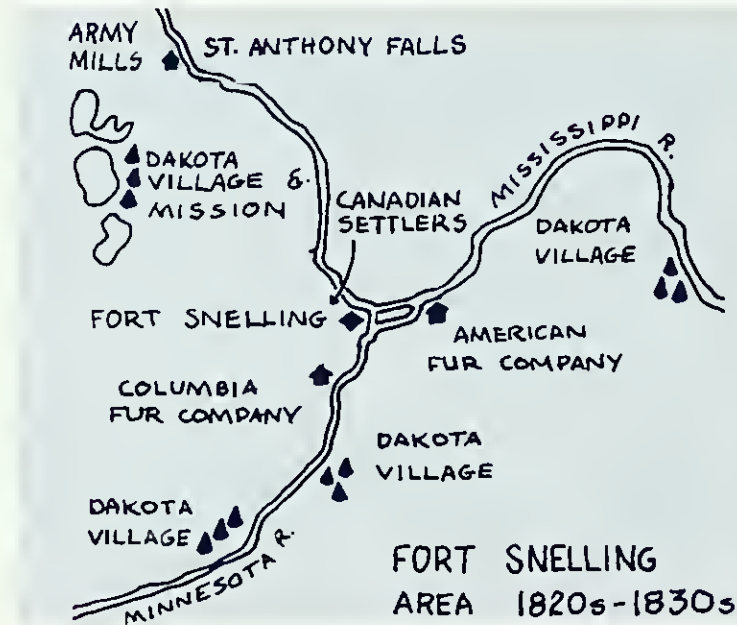
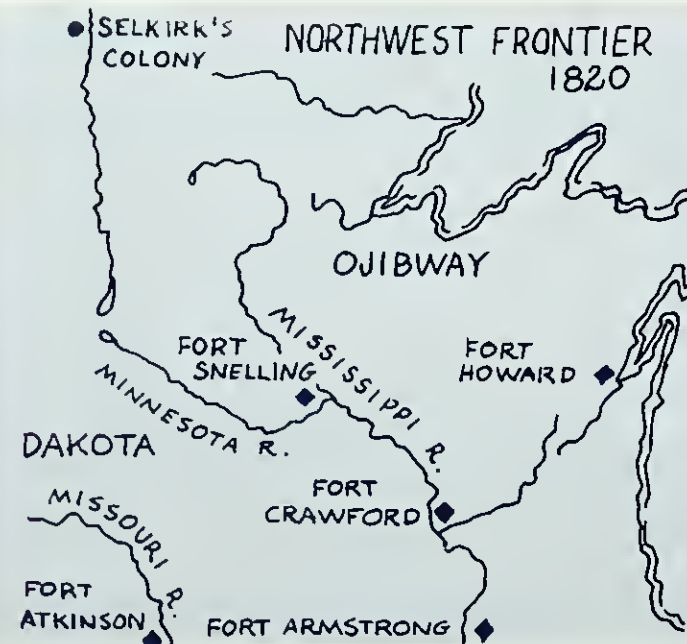
THE FORT'S STORY 1820-1946

The story of Fort Snelling is the story of the development of the Northwest from 1819 to the present. Surrounded today by a web of freeways and an urban population of more than a million people, Fort Snelling was once a lonely symbol of American ambition in the wilderness.

Although the United States had gained jurisdiction over the Upper Mississippi Valley by the early nineteenth century as a result of the Revolutionary War and later Louisiana Purchase, this vast territory lay beyond American settlement and was inhabited by fur traders and Indians still loyal to the British. After the War of 1812 the government sought to take physical possession of the wild Northwest frontier by establishing a chain of forts and Indian agencies from Lake Michigan to the Missouri River.

These outposts were to be instruments of foreign policy, Indian pacification, police power, and ultimately of American expansion. They were charged with ending British control of the rich fur trade by denying the outsiders use of American rivers, while winning the good will of the Indian tribes through a mixture of intimidation, gift giving, and fair dealing. Indian lands were to be kept free of white encroachment until appropriate treaties could be signed; outlaws, particularly murderers and whisky traders, were to be apprehended; and law-abiding travelers and traders were to be granted the full co-operation and protection of the United States Army.

In 1819 the 5th Regiment of Infantry arrived at the junction of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers to build the northwesternmost link in this chain of forts and agencies. At this well-chosen location, where traffic could be controlled on two major rivers that provided excellent transportation to the north, south, and



west, Fort Snelling was completed in 1825 and named for its builder and first commander, Colonel Josiah Snelling. Under Snelling's guidance the 5th Regiment began the taming of the Minnesota frontier, building a gristmill and sawmill at St. Anthony Falls and roads connecting them, planting hundreds of acres of vegetables, wheat, and corn, cutting hay for their stock and wood for their fires, and enforcing the laws and policies of the United States. Beside the fort at the St. Peter's Agency, Major Lawrence Taliaferro labored to keep the Dakota and Ojibway at peace while easing tensions between both tribes and their white neighbors.

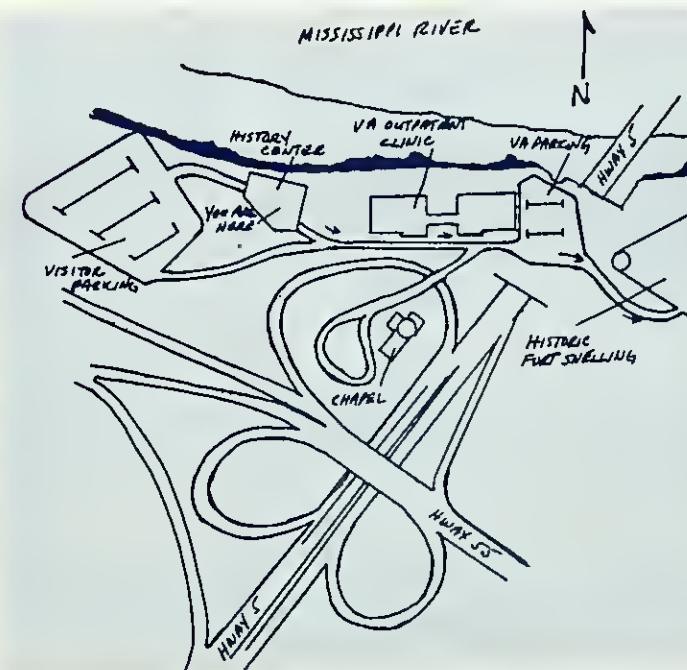
For almost 30 years Fort Snelling was the hub of the Upper Mississippi. Traders stopped at the fort while their goods were inspected. The American and Columbia fur companies built headquarters posts nearby, and employees of the two companies settled with their half-breed families at Mendota. The Dakota and Ojibway gathered at the fort to trade, sell game, and talk business, as well as to perform their dances and sports. Missionaries called on the agency for help in their efforts to teach the Dakota Christianity and farming. Swiss, Scotch, and French immigrants from Lord Selkirk's unsuccessful colony in Canada were given temporary refuge at the fort. Their fields and herds spread over the prairies northwest of the outpost until they were forced to move downriver in 1839, where they formed the small settlement that grew into the City of St. Paul. Army officers, government officials, and an increasing number of eastern tourists stopped at the fort for lodging, entertainment, and supplies.

By 1851 treaties had pushed the frontier farther west and opened much of the new Territory of Minnesota to settlement. New forts Ridgely, Ripley, and Abercrombie took over frontier duties and Fort Snel-

ling was demoted to a supply depot. In 1858, the year that Minnesota was granted statehood, the fort was sold to land developers and platted as a townsite. Plans for the City of Fort Snelling were abandoned, however, with the outbreak of the Civil War. During the war the state used the fort as a training center, building additional barracks to house the thousands of Minnesota volunteers who joined the Union Army. In 1866 after the Civil War had ended, the regular army returned to make the fort the headquarters and supply base for the military Department of Dakota, which extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. Regulars from Fort Snelling fought in the Indian campaigns and in the Spanish-American war of 1898.

Between 1870 and the early 1900s, many new barracks, officers' quarters, and storehouses were built, while the decayed buildings of the old stone fort were demolished. In 1946, after serving as a recruiting and training center in two world wars, Fort Snelling was decommissioned and turned over to the Veteran's Administration and Army Reserve.

In 1956 the threat of a freeway through the old fort stimulated public effort to save the remnants of Minnesota's oldest buildings. Fort Snelling was designated the state's first National Historic Landmark in 1960, and since 1963 both public and private funds have been used to restore and rebuild Historic Fort Snelling, where costumed guides now present a vivid picture of life on the frontier in 1827. The modern Fort Snelling History Center, opened in 1983, offers an orientation film on the fort's history and changing exhibits on aspects of Minnesota's past.



Historic Fort Snelling is reached by the Fort Snelling exits on Minnesota highways 5 and 55 near Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport. For information or group tour reservations call 612-726-9430.



Schedule of Events HISTORIC FORT SNELLING 1987 SEASON

HISTORIC FORT SNELLING	HISTORY CENTER
	Summer
Daily 10 a.m.-5 p.m.	Daily 9:30 a.m.-5 p.m.
	Spring and Fall
Daily 10 a.m.-5 p.m.	Daily 9:30 a.m.-5 p.m.
	Winter
Closed	Weekdays 9 a.m.-4:30 p.m.
Special Programs Only	Weekends (call for schedule)
	Holidays Closed

DAILY PROGRAMS

AT HISTORIC FORT:

Summer:

Guided orientation tours begin in schoolhouse at regular intervals. Guard Inspection 10 a.m., Infantry Drill 11:30 a.m. and 2:30 p.m., Cannon Drill 1 p.m. and 4 p.m., Retreat Ceremony 4:45 p.m. Blacksmith, Carpenter, Cooks, Hospital Steward, Laundresses and other characters at work daily.

Spring and Fall:

Weekday guided school tours by reservation, most buildings also open for self-guided visitation. Weekend living history program, orientation tours, military demonstrations.

Winter:

Special programs tentatively available. Call 726-1171 for information.

AT HISTORY CENTER:

Film: "Tower and Braid: a Chronicle of Fort Snelling"

Exhibit: "This Amazing Prospect: The Northwest Ordinance and the Opening of the West"

Lecture Series: "The Dakota Conflict of 1862", selected topics, 7:30 p.m., free admission, Wednesday evenings of April 29, May 6, May 20, June 3, June 17, June 24.

NEW THIS SEASON

Exhibits:

"Quarters Number One" — the residents, history and refurbishing of the commanding officer's quarters, opening late summer in the long barracks.

Administered by the Minnesota Historical Society.



SELF-GUIDED TOUR OF THE FORT

SUTLER'S STORE. Like a post exchange (PX), the store provided soldiers and their families with goods the army did not issue. Sutlers sometimes traded with the Dakota and Ojibway tribes. Visitors may purchase much of the merchandise, which duplicates the store's original inventory.

BARRACKS. These two barracks were home for about 300 enlisted men during the 1820s. The stone barrack is furnished to show married soldiers' quarters, twelve-man squad rooms, a store room, and cellar kitchens. The wood barrack contains an exhibit on 19th century soldier life.

COMMANDANT'S HOUSE. This building, designed by Colonel Snelling, was the residence of many commanding officers of the fort from 1824 to 1946. Original masonry is visible. Post headquarters and the kitchen, on the lower floor, are reached by the back door.

SEMI-CIRCULAR BATTERY. Sentries on this tower noted all those who passed by on the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers.

OFFICERS' QUARTERS. This restored structure replaced the first wooden officers' quarters in 1846. Twelve sets of quarters, each two rooms and a cellar kitchen, housed the officers and their families. The large room in the center was used for soldiers' plays and officers' dances. Original 1820s foundations and walls can be seen in the archaeology exhibit in the last two quarters.

PENTAGONAL TOWER. Cannon on garrison carriages were sighted to fire down the outside of the north and east walls.

GUN SHED. This structure housed the fort cannons: three 6-pound field pieces and one 24-pound howitzer mounted on field carriages.

WELL. This twenty-two foot well dried up in the 1820s. Drinking water was then hauled from a spring a mile west of the fort. Rain and river water met all other needs.

ROUND TOWER. The original stonework in the exterior walls survived a fire and many remodelings between its construction and restoration. Intended as a defensive strong point, its musket slits face inside as well as outside the walls.

MAGAZINE. This building was designed for the secure, cool, and dry storage of ammunition. In the 1820s, 51,000 musket cartridges, 265 cannon cartridges, 105 cannon shells, and 1,000 pounds of gunpowder were stored here in barrels.

GUARDHOUSE. This was the police and fire station of the fort, constantly manned by guards. Soldiers, civilians, and Indians were confined here, the only jail in the territory. The two end rooms of the building held charcoal for the blacksmith forge and lime for whitewash, mortar and plaster.

SCHOOL. The first school and the first church on the upper Mississippi met here in the 1820s. The teacher and chaplain were hired by the post, but also served local civilians.

GATEHOUSE. The gatehouse was designed to protect the sentries and to control access to the fort. The small door in the gate was used after dark when the main gates were barred.

SHOPS. The bakery provided every soldier with a loaf of bread daily. The blacksmith, carpenter, wheelwright, armorer, and harness shops maintained the tools, buildings, carts, weapons, and leather equipment of the fort.

HOSPITAL. This building housed the first hospital and the first library on the upper Mississippi. The rooms are furnished as the store room, library, surgery, attendant's quarters, ward room, kitchen, surgeon's quarters and a medical exhibit.

HEXAGONAL TOWER. These walls are also original. The cannon protected the south and west walls and the musket slits covered the storehouse and landing road.

STOREHOUSE. The fort's annual supplies of food, clothing, tools and materials were shipped up the Mississippi, unloaded below the fort, and hauled up the landing road to the storehouse's exterior door. The lift well facilitated distribution of supplies to four storage floors. The Quartermaster and the Commissary officers shared the office.

RESTROOMS ♿

NO SMOKING ANYWHERE IN THE FORT



Little Poplar

Minnesota Indians

Rev S. R. Kiepp chaplain 25 years a member ^{Santa Barbara Nov 11}
Associate with Jim Sibbey married as chaplain

To Rev S R Briggs

Therens de Sevens
Nov 14 1862

Spent the morning in debate with referees

12. Topayla Tankas. Dances began house as guard
while sister came in and told us of uprising. If back under
Prison w. to be will kill messengers. about one o'clock Tuesday
under messengers. Some messengers among people killed.
Indian men came to offer for service to fight with us for
both sides all Indian again attack on agency. Indian found liquor
became drunken band.

General Indian does not wish to participate in the dance
of Little Crow and many flee to our flag.

The white people engaged were not destroyers
between the innocent and the guilty

Miss Jane Williams

groves des Sours Miss

Nov 14 1812
to Rev S R Rogers

St Andrew Miss

Rogers to Sours

(Nov 21)

Messrs to Congress Dec 8 1863

"Sound policy and our imperative duty to these
wards of the government demand our anxious and
constant attention to their material well being,
to their progress in the arts of civilization, and
above all, to that moral training which, under the
blessing of Divine Providence, will confer upon them
the elevating and sanctifying influences, the hopes
and consolations of the Christian faith."

Dear Sister

St Paul nov 22

from Thaddeus Williams

~~Thaddeus Williams~~

"Whose shoulder was blood by your shoulder
blood be shed"

I wish to ^{help} protest against the pardon of the
murderers.

8 pages

It is impossible to treat a heathen community
any more on border as an independent nation
they ought to be regarded as our wards
Nov 20 1862

Bishops & Clergy of Prot Episc Church
urge attention of Congress to necessities
Indian Affairs

and deal with Indian acts of injustice & robbery

St Paul Nov 11

Hon A Lincoln

Your dispatch of yesterday received, will
comply with your wishes immediately, I desire to
represent to you that the only distinction
between the culprits is as to which of them
murdered the most people or violated the most
young girls all of them are guilty of these things
in more or less degrees. The people of this state
most of whom had relatives or connections there
barbarously murdered or brutally outraged and
execrated to the last degree I am of the guilty
am not all execrable I think it nearly impossible

and innocent old men prison besides that
condemned. and I fear that as soon as it is
known that the criminals are not at all to
be excused that there will be an indignant
response of the whole. The troops are entirely
new and raw and are in full sympathy
with the people on this subject. I will do the
best I can but fear a terrible result. The
four women and young girls are distributed
about among the towns bearing the marks of
the horrible outrages committed upon them
while daily there are funerals of the
murdered men and women

to prevent the indiscriminate massacre of all the
Indians old men women and children. The
soldiers are from this state and equally crimminal
and equally mixed with the citizens. It is
to be noted that the horrible outrages were
not committed by wild Indians who excuse
might be found in ignorance + barbarism but
by Indians who for years have been paid
annuities by government and who committed
horrible crimes upon the people among whom
they have lived for years in constant and
intimate intercourse at whose houses they
had slept and at whose tables they had been
fed. There are 1500 women and children

children whose bodies are being famished daily
than being planned the public mind to a fearful
degree - - - - -

John Pope was present

I would suggest that if the ^{Nov 12} journal is
unwilling at so great a sacrifice to order the
execution of the condemned Indians, the
councils be turned to the State Gov, to be
dealt with

John Pope

From Henry H Sibley

St Paul Dec 15

The Pres US of ~~Am~~

Your order of the 6th instant for the execution
of 39 Indians just received by special messenger.
They are imprisoned at Mankato 90 miles distant
over the trail fixed the 19th is too short for
preparations and for concentrating the troops
necessary to protect the other Indians and
insure the peace. The execution prevails all
Indians of the state and recent combinations
exist embracing thousands of citizens
plotted to execute all the Indians

Matters must be managed with great care
discussion and as much secrecy as possible
to prevent a fearful collision in the State
of affairs and the city. I respectfully ask
for unanimity to postpone the execution one
week from the 19th of I deem necessary
please reply at once. Your decision of the
relation to Charkal don never today by
men as well be observed.

R for Comm.

Dear A. Family

St Paul Nov 24

Official information from residents and from
the officers in charge of the confined Indians that
organizations of inter-tribes are being rapidly
made with the purpose of massacring these
Indians. He has been obliged in consequence
to concentrate a considerable force for their
protection and during the cold weather it is
impracticable to protect so large a body of troops
and Indians from the weather. I trust that
your decision and policy in the

case will be transmitted as soon as practicable
as humanely to both the troops and Indians
requires an immediate disposition of the case
I apprehend serious trouble with the people
of the state who are much exasperated against
the criminal Indians

John Pope

Wm. Fox

Feb

St Paul

Nov 28

The President

nothing but the speedy execution
of the trial and committee ^{grouse} Indians will save
us here from scenes of outrage. If you prefer it
turn them over to me and I will order their
execution.

Allen Ramsey

Nov 3 1863

Verona N.J.

My V.S. Dear Sir

Allow me to express the almost
unexpressed desire of the people of this State
that Hon H. M. Rice be appointed Major General
to take charge of the military and Indian
affairs of this Department

Very Respectfully

Your Obedt Servant

Wm Henderson

McC first post man

Proclamation to the People of Minnesota.

Whereas information has reached me that the public
peace has been disturbed by the unlawful
attempt of a large body of citizens to seize
and put to death the unarmed men
recently condemned to be hung
for their atrocious crimes and now in the
custody of the United States military authority,
at South Bend awaiting the final order of
the President for their execution.

Given under my hand and the
great seal of the State at the city of St Paul this
10th day of December A D 1909. ^{Alexander Ramsey gov}
D. Barkley Secy of State

Two copies forwarded

John Pope of St Paul
to May 1891

Military Telegrams

St Paul Min 4:10 PM

John President of the United States

The following names Indians have been
condemned to be hung by the military
commission appointed at the Lower Sioux
Agency for the massacre of men, women
and children including of women and young
girls in the late Indian outrages in
Minnesota

300 men named.



